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QUAKER POLITICS AND INDUSTRIAL CHANGE

c. 1800-1850.

by

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A thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, for
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QUAKER POLITICS AND INDUSTRIAL CHANGE, c. 1800-1850

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores early 19th century Quakers from the perspective of the social history of religion. It examines the ways in which Quaker organisation adapted to and facilitated economic change, and in which Quakerism and Quaker politics developed to reflect and represent the new economic and social requirements of this predominantly bourgeois and business community.

Chapter II sets out the most significant features of the 18th century background: the process of Quaker consolidation, economic and political activity, the shift to evangelicalism.

Chapter III explores the London Quaker evangelical elite around William Allen, Elizabeth Fry, Joseph John Gurney: their interconnections with the Clapham "Saints", with Dissenting evangelicals, with Whig "progressives", and with the Benthamites: their role as political lobby: their contribution to the development and dissemination of concepts of social modification in the service of industrial development, infused by religion.

Chapters IV and V examine the provincial challenge to the London Quaker establishment in the 1830s and 40s, within the arenas of pressure group politics - most notably anti-slavery - and the development of a combatant Quaker press. These chapters continue the analysis of the role of women within Quaker politics begun in Chapter III, and explore the basis for the

internal conflicts and shifts between Quaker "Whiggery" and Quaker "Liberalism".

Chapters VI and VII comprise two case-studies of Quaker provincial economic, social and political activity. Chapter VI examines how Birmingham Quaker employers implemented structural change, the split within the Quaker community over the rise of Liberal politics and the challenge of Chartism. It focusses particularly on Joseph Sturge and the Complete Suffrage movement. Chapter VII analyses the varying economic and political strategies of the Pease and Backhouse dynasties in South Durham and their relationship to Quaker organisation and affiliation.

In conclusion, Chapter VIII attempts to analyse the essential features of the economic, political and religious development of the Quaker community over the period, and the ways in which it reflected, contributed to and participated in the development of bourgeois Liberalism.

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I : INTRODUCTION

This thesis sets out to explore early 19th century Quakers not from the perspective of church history as such, but from that of the social history of religion: with regard to the economic, social and political dimensions of the Society of Friends and the Quaker community at this period of industrial transition.

Nineteenth century Quakerism has of course received quite substantial attention in many ways. Elizabeth Isichei's Victorian Quakers (1970), for example, provided something of a new model in the field of denominational history. Dr Isichei brought a sociologist's approach to her subject, examining Quakerism as a sect undergoing particular patterns of change, and focussing on analysis of its organisational structures and demography. Her work thus reshaped the very substantial church history mapped out by Rufus Jones in the 1920s,¹ and provided an apt sequel to Richard Vann's study of the earlier period in The Social Development of English Quakerism, 1655-1755 (1969).

But Victorian Quakers remains primarily a denominational study, segregating the development of the Society of Friends as a religious organisation from the wider social, political and economic developments in which Friends were involved. In my view, it re-echoes the misconceptions of much previous work about the Society's interface → or rather, lack of it - with the outside world. The denominational perspective can too easily make Quakers appear to be a discrete grouping, benign but idiosyncratic, active in certain moral crusades and philanthropic movements, but withdrawn from the mainstream of political and industrial change.

Such an impression seems decidedly odd when set beside the number of studies which have treated particular Quaker communities, families and businesses to intensive economic and political analysis. Such studies range from Arthur Raistrick's pioneering Quakers in Science and Industry (1950) to M.W. Kirby's study of the Pease dynasty, Men of Business and Politics (1984); from H.J. Smith's profile of Quakers and the politics of public health in Darlington, 1850 (1967) to Stephen Yeo's portrait of the relationship between Huntley and Palmers and the religious, social and political development of late 19th century Reading, in Religious and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis (1976). All of these studies start from the assumption that Quakers were highly active in, and shaped by, the political and economic networks and class relationships of their communities. The developing historiography of middle-class extra-parliamentary campaigns of this period - most notably anti-slavery - has also provided insights into the extent of Quaker transatlantic connections and political activity.² Together with the research of Catherine Hall and others, such studies have also illuminated the political role of Quaker women, and helped to draw their experience into mainstream discussions of women's history, and the changing structures of the middle-class family.³

There seems, then, an extraordinary divergence between the denominational history on the one hand, and the local social and economic studies referred to above. It will be apparent that the approach of the latter is closest to my own. However, what these studies cannot, and do not lay claim to do, is to examine the development of the Society of Friends as a denomination within the political, economic and social context, and this in turn leaves important issues unaddressed.

Biography has provided one way of attempting to bridge this gap. True, Quakerism has been treated to more than its fair share of hagiography, even in recent years. But there have been some substantial studies of particular prominent Friends, which have attempted to relate their activities within the Society to those without. David E. Swift's life of Joseph John Gurney (1962), for example, drew out the theological, economic and political complexities of his subject's role and significance within a number of overlapping circles, Quaker, evangelical, banking; within local politics and the changing structures of local elites; within particular national movements and lobbying groups. More recently, Alex Tyrrell's study of Joseph Sturge - published in 1987, when this dissertation was nearing completion - has provided new insight into a strand of Nonconformist politics, presenting Sturge as something of a loner, with an individual style of Liberal politics which was emphatically shaped by his personal religious outlook.

By definition, however, biographies must distinguish prominent individuals from the very communities, denominations, political and business circles and alliances of which they are part. There is always the danger that moral and political positions and rhetoric may be interpreted as personal and individual stances, rather than understood within the context of the debate and conflicts of particular movements. Biography will rightly place emphasis on personal conviction and belief, but in so doing, tend to underplay the way in which those beliefs are social phenomena, shaped politically, needing to be understood in context.

The rather different approach of family biography - adopted by M.W. Kirby and Catherine Hall, for example - can, in contrast, provide stronger

insights into the structures of local Quaker business connections and communities. But it may in turn flatten out the political and religious differences within families, between individuals and generations, bypassing the national context of contemporary economic and political development and debate within and beyond Quakerism.

There is room, therefore, in my view, for an attempt to explore the interrelationship between the Society of Friends as a religious organisation and community in the early 19th century, and the changing economic, class and political structures of which Quakers were very much part. Essentially there has not yet been time for the substantial development of the social history of religion and the strong foregrounding of religion within the social and cultural history of the 19th century to make very much impact on our understanding of the role of particular Nonconformist denominations and cultures. This thesis attempts to begin that process of "re-reading" in relation to a sect which has been much studied but also, in my view, considerably misunderstood and mis-interpreted.

There is obvious difficulty and danger in this approach, however. Is it valid to insist on taking a denominational perspective while also emphasising continuity with wider economic developments and political activity?⁴ Moreover, Quakers were such a tiny sect, and so apparently quirky in their characteristics. While the rest of 'evangelical Dissent was experiencing a boom in the first half of the 19th century, they were actually declining - by as much as 30%, indeed, when measured in terms of formal membership.⁵ By 1861, the Society had an actual membership of less than 14,000, compared with, for example, the Congregationalists'

180,000 or so.⁶ Quakerism's peculiarities in other respects - its centralised organisation, its rules of conduct, the legacy of Quietism - may raise the question of how meaningful it is to explore the key issues of, for example, changing class and political consciousness within such a confined and almost idiosyncratic denominational context.

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These issues are important, and I have attempted to address them in some measure by taking a number of different approaches to my subject. But I think it can be argued that there is particular validity in studying Quakers as a political, economic and religious grouping within the wider context of early 19th century society, despite their status as a tiny minority sect. Their high economic profile and homogeneity as a business community,⁷ for example, make them of particular interest with regard to the changing structures of production and employment, and the development of capital supply mechanisms at this period. Most Friends were not, of course, either captains of industry or prominent financiers, but for the very many Quaker enterprises and retail establishments, this was a period of considerable change with regard to the scale of operation, the nature of their business, the organisation of production and labour relations. And for those Quaker groupings and partnerships making much bigger waves in key industrial and financial sectors, this was a time of diversification, speculation and "take-off", and of strategic consolidation and combination. The extent to which local Quaker communities, family networks and the national organisation of the Society facilitated and were affected by these changes may help to add to our understanding of some aspects of industrial transformation and the social history of religion.

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Friends also provide an interesting framework for detailed study of the

changes in political and class consciousness, political allegiances and ideology which accompanied these entrepreneurial and business developments, and their reflection in theological, organisational and political conflict within a denomination. Quakers' relative unity in terms of class - more prosperous, more urban and more solidly bourgeois than most Nonconformists - makes them a particularly intriguing case-study. Contrary to the assumptions of the denominational studies, they were an active political community and the Society was an experienced political organisation. But during our period, significant tensions and differences emerged over political allegiance, over political and pressure group activity, and over concepts of the Society and its relationship with other churches. Quakers' sense of class identity, their perception of the establishment on the one hand and of the urban working class on the other, were undergoing considerable change. This infused much of the theological and organisational conflict and debate within the Society, as well as being reflected in their activity beyond it.

This in turn makes the Society interesting as a religious and social organisation: one with a tightly centralised and national structure, consolidated by family networks, yet with considerable regional differences and tensions within it; one which headed a wider international religious community, particularly in North America, and which exhibited a constant transatlantic approach to its developments and its conflicts. Quakerism experienced the full impact of the Evangelical Revival a little later than most sects, during the early 19th century, and evangelicalism has conventionally been seen as the "leaven" which lifted it out of theological conservatism and political and social quiescence.⁸ In fact, as I hope to show, the relationship between the various shades of theology and political

activity within the Society was complex and shifting. The developing strands of Quaker "Liberalism" were, for example, grounded in versions of Quietist theology quite as strongly as in elements of evangelicalism: indeed, conflict between the theological wings of Quakerism provided an important "testing ground" for political development. By examining the theological developments within Quakerism not in terms of personal conviction, belief and inspiration, but with regard to their role within Quakerism's developing politics, it is hoped that this study will shed some new light on the wider historical debate about the ideological role of particular theological movements such as evangelicalism.

This study adopts three, interlinked and overlapping perspectives. There is the focus provided by the study of specific Quaker groupings in particular localities: the Fry/Allen/Gurney group centred on the City of London; the Stockton and Darlington entrepreneurial group in the North-East; Birmingham Quakers. These "case-studies" provide the opportunity for close exploration of the changing and varied interrelationships between business interests, political activity and religious affiliation. They thus also provide some unfamiliar perspectives on prominent Quaker individuals, such as Elizabeth Fry, Joseph Pease and Joseph Sturge, while foregrounding others less well-known but highly significant in Quaker politics, such as Elizabeth Pease or William Allen.

The first approach overlaps with the second focus of research, that of bourgeois pressure groups and philanthropic campaigns. Most notable here is the anti-slavery movement, whose various wings and transatlantic connections criss-crossed the Society. But the elementary schooling,

penal reform, temperance, Peace, Anti-Corn Law, Complete Suffrage, women's movements and wider "Nonconformist politics" all involved Quaker groupings, entailed varying alignments, and had significant repercussions on the internal development of the Society.

The internal development of the Society of Friends indeed provides the third focus for this study. Quakerism's "internal politics" were considerably extended by, and reflected in, the Quaker newspapers set up in the late 1830s and 40s: The Irish Friend, 1837-42, and The British Friend and The Friend - bitter rivals - both founded in 1843, and these provide the main context for this third perspective.

The sources for this research have been varied, from the official Quaker records to the papers of the extra-parliamentary campaigns in which Friends were involved: from family papers and memoirs to parliamentary papers and business records. Newspapers have provided a very major and constant source: the local press, with regard to the Birmingham and North-East studies; the newspapers (U.S. and British) of the various campaigns and movements in which Friends were involved or with which they were in conflict: and, of course, the Quaker press itself, British and American. That Quaker press, with its quasi-Quaker forerunners and its non-Quaker "side-kicks", has indeed been consistently neglected by the Society's historians.⁹ Read within the wider context of the evangelical, philanthropic, Nonconformist and Liberal press and its labour movement opponents, and related to the wider documentation, it provides a significant window on the changing social, political, economic and theological complexion of this small, but certainly not negligible, Society.

Footnotes to Chapter I

1. Rufus M. Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism, 2 vols. (London, 1921).
2. See, for example, Lewis Perry and Michael Fellman, eds., Antislavery Reconsidered : New Perspectives on Abolitionists (Louisiana, 1979); Clare Taylor, ed., British and American Abolitionists (Edinburgh, 1974); Howard Temperley, British Antislavery, 1833-1870 (London, 1972), and, more generally on middle-class extra-parliamentary campaigns, Patricia Hollis, ed., Pressure from Without, (London, 1974).
3. Catherine Hall, "The Butcher, The Baker, the Candlestick Maker: the Shop and the Family in the Industrial Revolution", in E. Whitelegg et al, eds., The Changing Experience of Women (Oxford, 1982); Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850 (London, 1987).
4. See, for example, Isichei, pp. xxii-xxiii, for some discussion of this problem.
5. Isichei, pp. 112-117, citing J.S. Rowntree's statistics in his Quakerism, Past and Present (1859). As she notes, the figures are confused by the quite substantial number of Quaker attenders, excluded from formal membership for disciplinary infringements - such as marriage "out" - but who remained very much part of the Quaker community. A contemporary estimate - probably exaggerated - put such attenders as high as 9,000 (Isichei, p. 115). Even allowing for such adherents, the Quaker community was still declining markedly in comparison with most other sects and the population as a whole: see Alan D. Gilbert, Religion and Society in Industrial England (London, 1976), ch. 2, and D. M. Thompson, ed., Nonconformity in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1972), "Introduction", for example.
6. Dr Isichei gives a membership of 13,859 in 1861, using official Quaker returns (p. 112); Dr Gilbert gives a figure of 13,384 for the same year (p.38). The figures for the Congregationalists are taken from Gilbert also, p.37.
7. Gilbert, pp. 63-67; Isichei, pp. 171-186, also Appendix, pp. 288-291. Dr Isichei provides a useful analysis of Quaker "deaths" statistics with regard to occupation and class, though it is an extremely small sample. Her analysis certainly underlines Friends' relative homogeneity as a business community, but to some extent blurs and perhaps confuses quite different relations to capital and production in its classification.
8. See, for example, Isichei, Victorian Quakers; A. Tyrrell, Joseph Sturge and the Moral Radical Party in Early Victorian Britain (London 1987).
9. That neglect was discovered by the former editor of The Friend (from 1952-65), Bernard Canter, who embarked on a history of the paper and Quaker organisational development in 1965: a study left incomplete by his death in 1969. I have been able to draw on his unpublished essay on The Irish Friend for ch. 4, and his general insight into the value of this evidence.

II : The Background : The Development of Quakerism in the 18th and Early 19th Centuries

Elizabeth Isichei is probably correct in identifying 1830 as marking the start of the real "heyday" of evangelicalism within the Society of Friends.¹ But evangelicalism had been making its mark on Quakerism even before the turn of the century. By 1812/1813, its influence is apparent within the upper echelons of London Yearly Meeting, as key committees become dominated by a powerful group of evangelicals. Among them were Norwich banker Joseph Gurney and his nephews, Joseph John and Samuel Gurney; Tottenham land agent William Forster and his sons William and Josiah; Spitalfields silk manufacturer Peter Bedford, and his associate, William Allen.² Such men led what might be termed the "Clapham Sect" of the Society of Friends. With extensive family connections both within and beyond the sect, substantial business concerns, an array of political and alliances with Whig Liberalism and Philosophic Radicalism on the one hand and with Tory Anglican evangelicalism on the other, they were, by the 1820s, the most influential force within the Quaker governing body.

The development of, and basis for, such influence needs to be understood in the context of Quaker history during the 18th century, a period of considerable change in the demography, social composition and economic activities of the membership, and in the structure, organisation and government of the Society.

Richard Vann has noted that, by the mid 18th century, the Society of Friends was rapidly becoming, "not so much a sect as a great clan".³ Its membership was now more socially homogeneous, more solidly bourgeois and

increasingly urban, than in its early days, and it largely inherited its Quakerism.⁴

Whether Quakers were actually declining numerically is probably difficult to determine: Yearly Meeting efforts to tighten up record-keeping and membership qualifications make comparative estimates across the century difficult. It is more likely, according to William C. Braithwaite and W. R. Ward, that membership was static through most of the century, with a sharper downturn in the 1790s.⁵ But of particular note is the way in which the Society's failure to recruit new converts actually strengthened and reinforced the sense of clan. From generation to generation, Quaker intermarriage constantly extended and renewed the complex of interrelationships and interdependencies within local meetings, across counties, and between regions.

The prevailing theological climate of this period was, of course, Quietism, a mode of thought and outlook which British Friends shared very strongly with their American counterparts, with whom they had strong organisational, ministerial and trading links.⁶ A religious outlook which focussed on the inward experience of and "re-enactment" of the doctrines of Christ's birth, death and resurrection, it played down the biblical and "historical" basis of those doctrines. But though elevating the value of and necessity for individual experience, Quietism also had a very strong corporate emphasis. The rituals of long, silent meetings for worship, the idiosyncratic characteristics of Quaker ministry at this period, the stylised vocabulary of passivity, mortification and suffering collectively shaped and expressed individual experience.

But this corporate emphasis of Quietism was not only a matter of style: the development and strengthening of Quaker organisation and discipline was a far more tangible aspect. Centralised organisation and disciplinary procedures had been established by the late 17th century, particularly in response to the anarchic and Messianic dangers of Naylerism.⁷ But the consolidating, refining, neo-Calvinist emphasis of the Quietist period produced a radical tightening up of membership rules, an extension and strengthening of church government, and codification of behaviour.⁸

The organisational pyramid through which the Society's affairs were conducted was, for example, considerably strengthened during the 18th century, above all increasing the power and authority of the governing body, London Yearly Meeting. Essentially, Yearly Meeting steadily enlarged its role as watch-dog over the condition of the Society, and as the Quaker "legislature". It streamlined its procedures and increased its effectiveness by delegating business - for example, to what was to become the key Committee on Epistles - and by expanding the role of the London-based Meeting for Sufferings. From its role of political voice and lobby on behalf of Quakerism, Sufferings became something more like the permanent standing committee or executive committee of the Yearly Meeting, carrying out investigations on its behalf, preparing reports, implementing Yearly Meeting decisions.

The basic structure of Quaker business meetings was also extended, again giving more weight to authority (see Fig. 1). A separate hierarchy of Ministers and Elders' meetings charged with overseeing pastoral care, was added to the existing pyramid of local Monthly Meetings, regional Quarterly Meetings, topped by the "delegate body" of London Yearly

Meeting.⁹ The demand for a parallel structure of women's meetings was, on the other hand, only partially met - and diffused - by the establishment of a Women's Yearly Meeting. Deprived of "legislative" or "judicial" powers, it headed a more fragmented hierarchy of regional and local women's meetings, charged largely with responsibility for the Quaker poor and sick.¹⁰

The process of consolidation was also aided by the clarification of Quaker membership, the tightening up of rules against marriage to non-members, the sharpening of distinctions between the ordinary membership and the church "officers" - Ministers, Elders, and Overseers - and between the membership and those increasing numbers of disowned Friends who continued to live, worship and work within the Quaker community.¹¹

Efforts to maintain and strengthen the corporate identity of the Society were further manifested by Yearly Meeting's publication of the authoritative "Christian and Brotherly Advices," or "Book of Extracts", which codified its disciplinary exhortations for the use of local meetings.¹² Monthly and Quarterly Meetings were instructed to collectively examine their conduct and spiritual state through frank responses to the "Queries", questions formulated and standardised by Yearly Meeting, which also received the written results.¹³ In 1761-3, a national visitation of all Quarterly Meetings was organised by Yearly Meeting to appraise their state.¹⁴ Redoubled efforts at advice, exhortation and oversight followed, and the question of the type of education appropriate to Quaker children became a dominant concern. The establishment of Ackworth in 1779 under Yearly Meeting control began a new system of guarded Quaker "public" schooling, to be rapidly developed in the early 19th century.¹⁵

The 18th century was, then, a period in which the Society narrowed and consolidated its membership base. Under the all-pervading influence of Quietism, it responded to the problems of declining rural meetings and urban migration, of vulnerable membership figures, and the tensions produced by expanding prosperity, by attempting to nurture and reinforce a strong sense of corporate identity, loyalty and exclusiveness, through a more centralised system of church government and discipline.

Too often, however, this period of consolidation is interpreted as one of general isolation of the Quaker community from wider society. Yet, as John Sykes has pointed out in his study, The Quakers, the reign of theological Quietism was accompanied by a remarkable degree of economic drive and advance among some sections of the Society.¹⁶ Quaker Quietism and its accompanying organisational and disciplinary reforms did not add up to a quasi-monastic corporate existence, but contributed considerably to the ties of loyalty and interest between members active in the secular world.

Intermarriage and birthright membership themselves facilitated economic development in key sectors where Quaker families were involved. The expansion and control of iron industry networks by the Birmingham Lloyds or the Shropshire Darbys, for example, were undoubtedly aided by strategic alliances between Quaker families which helped to fight off competition, control supplies, achieve rationalisation of production.¹⁷ But Quaker organisation also, arguably, aided economic advance. The Society of Friends was unique among Dissenting sects in being a national organisation: the various reforms across the 18th century strengthened that sense of national cohesion, but oiled the machinery of local and regional

communications systems as well. The interlocking circles of Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, the ministerial tours, the sense of an inherited loyalty to a distinctive and minority faith, the family connections, combined to facilitate the exchange of business information and the formation of business alliances. At a period when financial systems were immature, Quaker clannishness provided readier access to capital, and helped to protect entrepreneurial families from financial risk. Despite the hierarchical nature of the Quaker organisation, it also provided business opportunities. The new public school system established with Ackworth helped to formalise and develop training and apprenticeship systems already extant in the Quaker community.¹⁸ Depending on the level of family connection and "interest", these could provide access to specialist business knowledge, to starter capital, to the diversification of family economic activities, and to future partnerships.

Nor was the Society "quiet" on the political front. Nigel Hunt has shown how, by the early 18th century, it had developed into a sophisticated and effective "political association," with the London-based Meeting for Sufferings as its collective voice. The role of Sufferings as Quakerism's parliamentary watchdog, its development of effective lobbying systems and its nurturing of ministerial sympathy, had succeeded in providing a legal status and civil protection for the membership that was the envy of other Dissenters. In Dr Hunt's words, the Society of Friends was in itself "an extra-parliamentary organization," its tight and tightening hierarchical structure providing an effective information-gathering and campaigning machine.¹⁹ That machinery was exploited again in the anti-slavery lobby of the late 18th century, where the careful cultivation of influential allies again became important, and as we shall see, it was to provide an

important basis for the lobbies and campaigns of the 19th century in which Quakers were involved.

Such corporate political activity was mirrored at local level, too, where the growing wealth of some Friends gave them both access to, and interest in, local politics. By the late 18th century, many Friends can be seen active in local vestry politics, for example: as Poor Law Overseers, or as Gilbert Visitors: involved in the foundation and administration of the new voluntary hospitals: or as members of the newly established Street Commissions.²⁰ The pro-Whig electioneering activities of the Gurney family in late 18th century Norwich, of Thomas Cropper in Liverpool or William Allen in London at the turn of the century, must further scotch the fiction that Friends, still under the pervasive influence of theological Quietism, were politically quiescent.²¹

By the 1790s, a marked shift of theological emphasis in the direction of evangelicalism is detectable in the rhetoric of Yearly Meeting pronouncements: a greater stress on credal orthodoxy and a greater sense of credal authority. The relative isolation of the Society from the Dissenting world kept the full influence of the Evangelical Revival at bay a little longer than most other churches. Yet paradoxically, Quietism was an apt forerunner to evangelicalism in many ways, and there were connections between the two apparently diverse modes of thought. There were clear parallels between the "Holy Club" preamble to the Wesley's conversion and Quietism, for example, and links with the Clapham Sect's pre-conversion "seriousness":²² links which were to be exploited in the associations that early Quaker evangelicals established with Anglican as well as Dissenting evangelicalism. Though Quaker orthodoxy might always

be a little suspect to other Protestants, evangelicalism gave Friends a relationship with other churches which they had not had before, facilitating social, economic and political liaison with landed, merchant and business elites.

Evangelicalism therefore perhaps held a special attraction for Quaker groupings. But the authoritative move of the Yearly Meeting establishment towards evangelicalism also served to defend the Society against any suspicion of "softness" on Rational and Jacobinical Dissent. A schism in Ireland during the years 1797-1801, indeed drew and was the catalyst for, a new note of evangelical orthodoxy in reaction.

Led by Abraham Shackleton of Ballitore and John Hancock of Lisburn, but further fermented by radical New York Friend, Hannah Barnard, the Irish "New Light" movement took a historicist view both of the Society's tenets and of the Scriptures, rejecting biblical literalism. In addition, its adherents voiced a passionate rebellion against the increased centralism of the Society over recent years, and against the colonial rule from London of Irish Quakerism. They stressed the supreme value of reason, and the unassailable rights of individual conscience, against the Society's obsession with "outward order." Government of the individual member by London edict was, they claimed, contrary to his or her "SACRED RIGHT and ... IMPORTANT DUTY, to think, compare, and conclude for HIMSELF, in matters of religion; 'TO HIS OWN MASTER HE STANDETH OR FALLETH ...' "²³

This assertion of colonial and provincial rebellion against the London hierarchy, with its dangerous infection of freewheeling and rationalist individualism, brought punitive visitations and purges on the dissidents,

and a more emphatic assertion of Yearly Meeting authority.²⁴ But the new stream of edicts did more than go over the old ground of exhorting faithfulness to Quaker conduct and a patient waiting on the Lord. Increasingly they tried to define and embrace a credal orthodoxy. The Epistles at the turn of the century grew more insistent in their emphasis on the Society's thorough allegiance to a scriptural faith, maintaining the necessity of experiencing "the saving power of Christ Jesus our Lord, revealed in the heart."²⁵ The importance of bible study had been the subject of periodic reminders during the 18th century, but now the Yearly Meeting exhortations were continuous. Not only was "diligent acquaintance with the Sacred Records" encouraged, moreover, but the practice of family and household bible-reading was held up as a model.²⁶ Indeed, the Epistle of 1813 went so far as to obliquely endorse the work of the newly-established, evangelical British and Foreign Bible Society.²⁷ This was a particularly significant move, given that organisation's inter-denominational complexion, and its influence by the Anglican Clapham Sect.²⁸ But then most of the group of evangelical Friends who rose to prominence in Yearly Meeting circles around this time were active supporters and promoters of the Bible Society mission.

Most prominent among this group was, undoubtedly, Joseph John Gurney, the Norwich banker, whose theological studies were to develop and argue for a continuum and cohesiveness between the Quietist past and an evangelical future for the Society.²⁹ But Gurney's influence cannot be isolated from the network of relations, business associates and "fellow travellers" in evangelicalism and evangelical philanthropy, both within and beyond the Society of Friends, in which he, his sister Elizabeth Fry, and their associate William Allen were the key figures.

The conversion of Joseph John Gurney and Elizabeth Fry was, indeed, part of a kind of dynastic shift on the part of the Norwich Gurneys and many of their relatives towards evangelicalism during the early years of the century. That general progress towards evangelicalism coincided with the consolidation and expansion of the Gurney banking operations. During the last quarter of the 18th century, the Norwich Gurneys had moved from their successful wool merchant business with concomitant loan activities into banking pure and simple, establishing a group of country banks at a key period of both growth and uncertainty in the local textile industry, and of major investment in arable land as grain prices soared. By 1800, the Gurney brothers were partners in a highly successful banking concern, developing strategic links with the London financial markets. The family partnership provided a focal point for Whig political activity in Norwich, the brothers John, Joseph and Richard operating as quasi-gentry from their semi-rural seats of Earlham, the Grove and Keswick Hall, respectively.³⁰

It was Joseph Gurney of the Grove who perhaps led the evangelical progress of the family, under the influence not only of non-Quaker evangelicalism near at home, but of a new American Quaker evangelicalism. One by one, most of the Gurneys moved first into the adoption of "serious" Quakerism and then to an evangelicalism more comfortable with Wilberforce than Wesley, Earlham Hall becoming, under Joseph John Gurney's influence particularly, a centre of hospitality for evangelical conversation, and for the development of evangelical strategy.³¹ At Earlham, this burgeoning Quaker evangelicalism nurtured alliances with Anglican evangelicalism of the highest stamp: with the Bishop of Norwich, with the Rev. Charles Simeon, with William Wilberforce himself. In alliance with other non-Quaker evangelical grandees, J. J. Gurney and family helped launch the

Norwich branch of the Bible Society in 1811 and a Norwich Lancasterian school in the same year. And within the Society of Friends itself, the activities of the weighty Gurneys began to infuse the local meeting with new, evangelicised growth.³²

At the same period as Joseph Gurney and nephew Joseph John were developing this Norwich network, the centre of gravity of the Gurney circle was shifting. In 1800, John Gurney's daughter Elizabeth married Joseph Fry, London banker and merchant, moving to the City of London and the influential Gracechurch Street Friends' Meeting.³³ Her brother John, meanwhile, was training at the Gurneys' London banking agents, Smith, Bevan and Bening, and subsequently entered the Quaker firm of Richardson, Overend and Co., bill-brokers, before becoming a partner in Gurneys Bank on his father's death in 1809. Another brother, Samuel Gurney, also joined this London circle, living at Mildreds Court with the Frys from 1803, pursuing his banking career into a strategic partnership with Thomas Richardson and John Overend.³⁴

The women of the family further extended the London connections. Elizabeth Fry's sister Louisa, whose journals of the early 1800s record her relief at finding evangelical faith, married Samuel Hoare, partner in the Lombard Street banking house of Barnett, Hoare, Barnett and Company, in 1806. Another sister, Hannah, married a Gurney Cousin, Thomas Fowell Buxton, in 1807, the year he entered the Spitalfields firm, Trumans Brewery. By 1811, he had become a partner.³⁵

The Gurney circle overlapped and interlocked with other figures within the London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting who shared their evangelical,

business and, as we shall see, philanthropic and political concerns. Gracechurch Street Monthly Meeting, for example, included members of the Fry-Gurney circle, but also City pharmacist, William Allen, its Clerk, who was rapidly moving into evangelicalism. The Frys, Gurneys and Buxtons also had close association with members of Tottenham Monthly Meeting - part of the same Quarterly Meeting - particularly with evangelicals like Luke Howard, Allen's partner, and brothers William and Josiah Forster. Indeed, Elizabeth Fry sent her sons to Josiah Forster's private school for Friends.³⁶

It is almost impossible to unravel fully and clearly the full extent of the interconnections and alliances of what might loosely be called the Fry-Gurney-Allen circle. They were bound together by a developing sense of evangelical mission in a Society they felt to be largely caught, still, in the theology of Quietism. As we shall see, that evangelicalism cannot be divorced from their business interests, and it steered their political and philanthropic strategies. But within the Society itself, their London base, their wealth, their Quaker office, gave them crucial access to London Yearly Meeting and Sufferings at this period.

William Allen, for example, became Clerk to Gracechurch Street Monthly Meeting around 1799-1800, and Correspondent - i.e. a representative - to Meeting for Sufferings at the same period.³⁷ Elizabeth Fry, active in Gracechurch Street's Women's Monthly Meeting with Allen's wife, Charlotte, was acknowledged as a Quaker Minister in 1811.³⁸ William Forster jnr of Tottenham Meeting had become a Minister in 1805 and a representative to London Yearly Meeting by 1811.³⁹

Joseph John Gurney did not become recorded as a Minister until 1818, but in 1812 he became a Yearly Meeting representative. At this period, his evangelicalism gave him a highly critical perspective on the Society: " ... I seem to see how much Friends would be improved, by a more extensive knowledge and profession of the great offices of a Saviour's love."⁴⁰ In this mood, he became a member of Yearly Meeting's influential Committee on Epistles which, as we have seen, now shaped the "agenda" of the Society. There he joined members of his circle, including his uncle Joseph, and Josiah and William Forster. The Committee's composition in the succeeding years showed a similar bias. In 1815, for example, it included not only Joseph and Joseph John Gurney, but the latter's brother, Samuel Gurney. Alongside them were William Forster jnr as previously, but also another evangelical City associate, Peter Bedford, the Spitalfields silk manufacturer.⁴¹

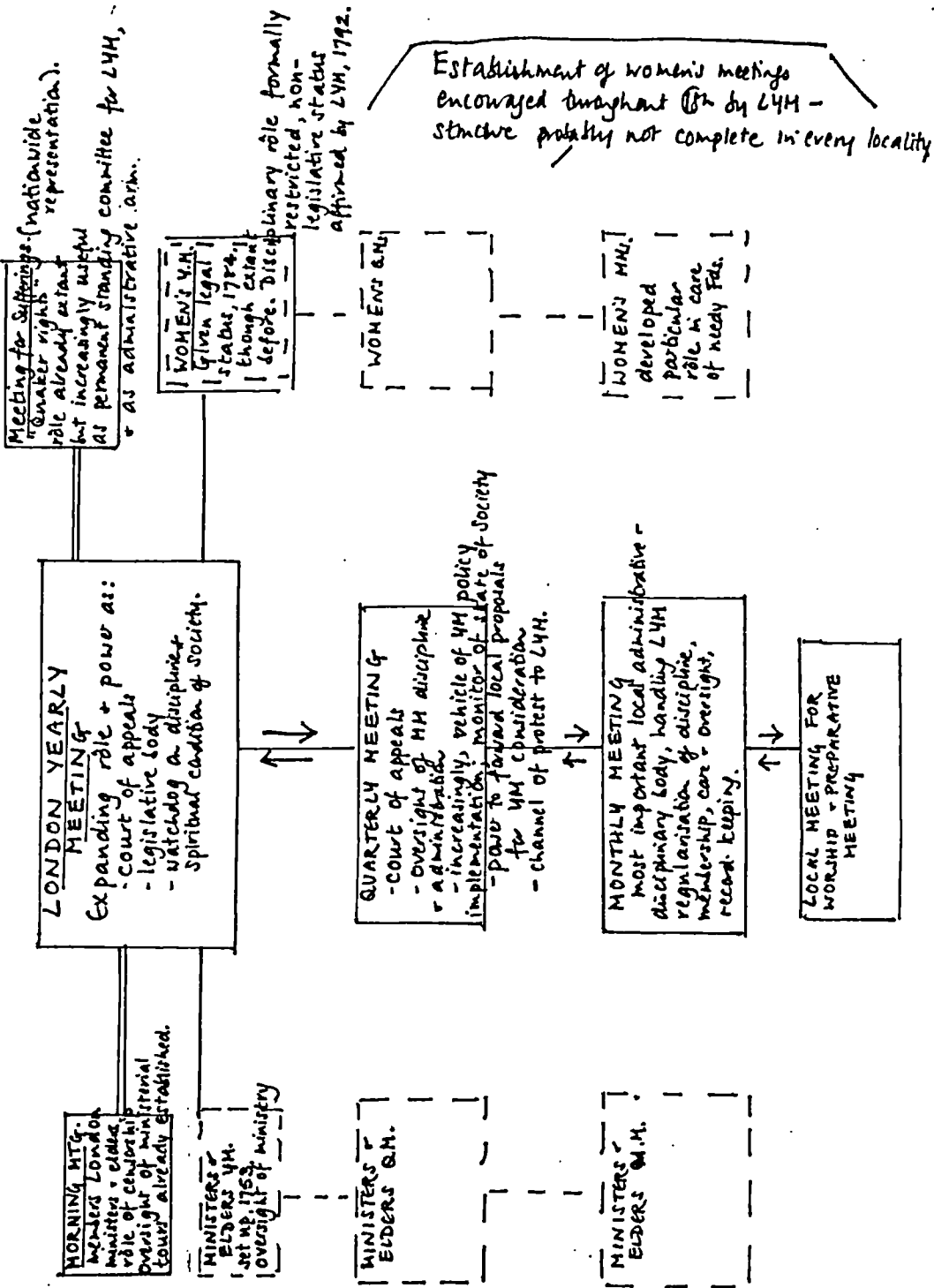
By 1816, J. J. Gurney had assumed a key role in the General Meeting which managed Ackworth School on London Yearly Meeting's behalf, becoming its Clerk in 1817, with brother Samuel taking on the post of Treasurer.⁴² Indeed, the evangelical party now effectively took the reins with regard to education, using theories, tactics and methodologies acquired in the British and Foreign Bible Society and Lancasterian school systems in which they had been active for some years. Under their influence, for example, London Yearly Meeting issued an emphatic circular in 1818 on the necessity for scriptural education. In 1819, Samuel Gurney took on the mantle of Ackworth General Meeting, becoming its Clerk while still also retaining the treasurership. In 1821, Josiah Forster assumed the role of Ackworth Clerk: in 1823, Luke Howard.⁴³

By the early 1820s, the "evangelical party" were scaling the very heights of the Yearly Meeting establishment. Their organised ascent - ironically facilitated by the centralising tendencies of the Quietist era - reflected and represented the now pervasive influence of the Evangelical Revival on the Society. The rhetoric and emphases of evangelicalism were, by this period, invading the ministry and journals even of resisting Quietists.⁴⁴ Thus in 1820, Josiah Forster became Clerk to the Yearly Meeting, and continued in that key post throughout the decade.⁴⁵

That succession continued, broadly, into the 1830s,⁴⁶ endorsed and further secured by the repercussions of another rationalist schism, far more traumatic than the Shackleton-Barnard affair - the American Hicksite schism of 1827-8.⁴⁷ By the 1830s, indeed, the evangelicals were firmly the establishment, either among or heavily influencing those "Friends about the Table" who effectively ran the Yearly Meeting and set the keynote for the Society.

The Growth of the Quaker Organisation During the 18th.

— already extant, 1700.
 --- developed during 18th.



Regularisation of this structure encouraged in 2nd half of 18th when establishment of Ministers - taken Y.M. 1753, revealed large-scale local gaps.

Footnotes to Chapter II

1. Elizabeth Isichei, Victorian Quakers (Oxford, 1970), pp. 3,8.
2. See below, pp. 9-13.
3. Richard T. Vann, The Social Development of English Quakerism, 1655-1755 (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), p. 167.
4. Ibid.
5. W. R. Ward, Religion and Society in England, 1790-1850 (London, 1972), pp. 66-7. This counters J. S. Rowntree's claim - in Quakerism, Past and Present (1859) - that membership was almost halved during the 18th century.
6. John Sykes' The Quakers (London, 1958) is interesting on the 18th century transatlantic trade connections. See also Rufus C. Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism (London, 1921), I.
7. "Naylerism" : James Nayler eschewed Quaker collectivism and claimed particular divine inspiration for himself. He was tried for blasphemy in 1656 and sentenced to brutal punishment and imprisonment.
8. The following account of the development of Quaker organisation and discipline is based primarily on analysis on the LYM Minutes and Epistles, together with the "Christian and Brotherly Advices," all in FHL. Also Rufus Jones' account in chs. iv to vi of Later Periods, op. cit, I.; D. J. Hall, "An Historical Study of the Discipline of the Society of Friends, 1738-1861," unpublished MA thesis, University of Durham (1972).
9. Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders established 1753. Regular meetings of church officers at Monthly and Quarterly Meeting level encouraged also.
10. Women's Yearly Meeting - given "legal" status 1784, with non-legislative and restricted disciplinary role. This restricted status was confirmed by LYM, 1792. Women's business meetings at QM and MM level encouraged, but with primarily pastoral role.
11. e.g. 1737 Rules of Settlement ref. membership and residency qualifications; marriage rules and status of children of disowned parents also clarified. 1727, Elders' appointments agreed; 1750, role of Overseers endorsed; 1789, distinction between Elders and Ministers clarified, with new procedure for "recording" ministers.
12. "Christian and Brotherly Advices" or "Book of Extracts" issued by LYM 1738 - MS compendiums of YM advice, minutes and rulings. These were updated and supplemented by printed copies of particular regulations from time to time, culminating in the revised Book of Extracts, 1783.
13. The Queries were standardised for all local meetings, 1755.
14. The visitation - proposed to LYM by Samuel Fothergill - brought in some devastating reports of the low state of many meetings.

15. Sufferings was asked to report on the distribution and availability of Quaker-run schools in 1758; its Report of 1760 formed the basis for the Society's intervention. LYM made its key policy decision on the need for Society-run provision for those "not in affluence," 1777. Other Quaker public school development as follows:

Islington (previously part of the Clerkenwell workhouse complex), 1786, moved to Croydon, 1825;

Sidcot, 1808, for those "not in affluence", under QM management;

Wigton, 1815, for those "not in affluence", under QM management;

Bootham, 1823, for the more affluent - originally private, under QM management by 1829;

Mount, 1831, again for the more affluent, under QM management;

Rawdon, 1832, originally primarily for children of disowned Friends, under QM management;

Penketh, 1834, originally primarily for children of disowned Friends, under QM management;

Ayton, 1841, primarily an agricultural school, again mainly for children of disowned;

Sibford, 1842, primarily for disowned, again under QM management.

See W. A. Campbell Stewart, Quakers and Education (London, 1953).

16. J. Sykes, The Quakers, op. cit.: "In finance, the Quaker drive was prodigious during this so-called century of retreat," p.172.

17. See Arthur Raistrick, Quakers in Science and Industry (London, 1950), also David Burns Windsor, The Quaker Enterprise: Friends in Business (London, 1980).

18. See, for example, LYM minute, 1785, re Ackworth: "... it is recommended ... that Friends who are in want of Apprentices or Servants, likely to be supplied from this School, will give Information thereof to the Treasurer."

19. N. C. Hunt, Two Early Political Associations (Oxford, 1961), p. 1..

20. See, for example, R. Collie's chart of Tottenham Friends' activities in The Quakers of Tottenham, 1775-1825, Edmonton Hundred Historical Society, Occasional Paper New Series, no. 37 (Edmonton, 1978); also D. B. Windsor, The Quaker Enterprise.

21. On the Gurneys, see David E. Swift, Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer and Quaker (Middletown, Conn., 1962), also C. B. Jewson, Jacobin City (London, 1975). On Cropper, see letter from Cropper to Allen ref. canvassing for Brougham's election, 1812: Temp. MSS 4/26, FHL. Allen's party political activities emerge clearly from this collection, plus the Place Papers and other correspondence with Bentham etc., in the BM: see below, ch. 3.

22. Interestingly, for example, Quaker Quietists and Anglican evangelicals shared favourite devotional reading: Jeremy Taylor, Holy Living and Dying; William Law, A Serious Call; the writings of Fenelon.

23. William Rathbone, A Narrative of Events, That have lately taken Place in Ireland among the Society called Quakers ... (1804), p. 169. See also, John Hancock, "Reasons for Withdrawing from Society with the People Called

Quakers", 2nd ed. (1802), and related pamphlets, FHL. Also, Isabel Grubb, Quakers in Ireland, 1654-1900 (London, 1927).

24. LYM Minutes, 1797, 1801, 1804; Memoirs of Stephen Grellet (1857); Journal of the Life and Gospel Labours of David Sands (1848); Journal of the Life, Travels, and Religious Labours of William Savery (1844); Journal of the Life of Thomas Shillitoe (1839).

25. LYM Epistle, 1799.

26. LYM Epistle, 1805. See also Epistles of 1799, 1800, 1807, 1812, 1813, 1815, 1817, 1818, particularly, for this scriptural emphasis.

27. "Amongst the numerous benevolent undertakings which now interest the minds of our countrymen, we contemplate with much satisfaction, the general circulation of the Holy Scriptures ... ": LYM Epistle, 1813.

28. See, for example, Ford K. Brown, Fathers of the Victorians (Cambridge, 1961).

29. See Swift, op. cit.; Joseph John Gurney, Observations on the Religious Peculiarities of the Society of Friends, 1824.

30. Swift, op. cit. Also J. K. Edwards, "The Economic Development of Norwich, 1750-1850", unpublished typescript (1963), Local Studies dept., Norwich Central Library.

31. For most of the family, conversion was not a sudden process, but phased. Thus J. J. Gurney does not appear to commit himself to evangelical Quakerism until around 1811/12 (J. B. Braithwaite, Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney, 1854); Elizabeth Fry is not accorded full evangelical status by her daughters in their Memoir until 1811/12. The Gurney conversions took place over the first decade or so of the 19th century: Louisa and Priscilla early on, T. F. Buxton and Samuel Hoare not until around 1813 (see Louisa Gurney, Journals, 1797-1806, NRO); Susanna Corder, Memoir of Priscilla Gurney (1856); C. Buxton, Memoirs of Sir T. F. Buxton (1849).

32. J. J. Gurney, Autobiography, 1837, Gurney MSS, NRO; J. J. Gurney, "Reminiscences of Chalmers, Simeon, Wilberforce ..." n.d; Swift, op. cit.

33. Gracechurch St. Women's Monthly Meeting Minute Book, 1801-1813, FHL.

34. Swift, op. cit.

35. Swift, op. cit. Also, Charles Buxton, Memoirs of Sir T. F. Buxton, op. cit.; Louisa Gurney, Journals, op. cit.

36. Devonshire House MM Records, 1788-1830; Gracechurch St. Women's MM Minute Book; R. Collie, The Quakers of Tottenham, op. cit.

37. Allen became Correspondent for Derbyshire and Notts to Meeting for Sufferings 1799/1800 - also Overseer in Gracechurch St. Meeting, 1810, Elder, 1811: Life of William Allen (1847); Gracechurch St. Women's MM Minute Book.

38. Memoir of Elizabeth Fry (1847); Gracechurch St. Women's MM Minute Book.
39. Benjamin Seeborn, Memoirs of William Forster (1865); LYM Minutes.
40. J. B. Braithwaite, Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney (1854), p. 87; Swift, op. cit.
41. LYM Minutes.
42. LYM Minutes. See also Swift, Braithwaite.
43. LYM Minutes.
44. See, for example, Selection from the Letters and Papers of John Barclay (1841); Selection from the Letters of the late Sarah Grubb (1848); Journal of the Life of Thomas Shillitoe (1839).
45. LYM Minutes.
46. In 1836, for example, Peter Bedford took on the Clerkship from Samuel Tuke: LYM Minutes.
47. See, for example, R. M. Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism, I.

III : The London Quaker Elite and the
Politics of Philanthropy, c. 1800-1835

The London Gurney/Allen/Fry grouping which, as we have seen, was so successful in gaining influence within London Yearly Meeting in the early 19th century, drew much of its strength from connections - religious, philanthropic and political - far beyond Quakerism. Conversely, the group's substantial Quaker constituency provided the basis for extensive charitable and political organisation across the City of London, Southwark and Spitalfields. Linked, as we have seen, by family ties, by neighbourhood, by business associations, as well as by their Quakerism, these evangelical Friends dominated some key philanthropic organisations. In others, they shared committee power with Anglican "Saints", with Dissenting evangelicals, with Whig "progressives" and, particularly during the period 1810-1818, with Benthamites.

Some ten years after the break between the Quaker evangelicals and the Bentham group, Francis Place was to look back on this intriguing alliance with considerable cynicism, characterising his former Quaker associates as "mostly narrow", "ill-educated", intolerant and uncharitable. Many Quakers were "accomplished hypocrites", he claimed.¹ But at the time, their influence, wealth and political connexion had made them worthy of careful cultivation. Edward Wakefield told Francis Place in 1813, as Whig progressives and Benthamites hatched plans to develop the Quaker-dominated British and Foreign School system along more secular lines: " ... in that Committee you will find active powerful and zealous instruments for our purpose."²

But this Quaker grouping should in no way be regarded as merely the dupes or ciphers of others' theories and strategies. On the contrary, this was a politically sophisticated circle. Their particular experience within the Society of Friends helped set the pattern for 19th century philanthropic organisation, with regard to committee structures, for example, the division of administrative labour, and the special role of women. Most at home with a Whig "progressivism" of the Brougham brand, they infused concepts of Political Economy, Malthusianism and Utilitarianism with evangelicalism. Indeed, they helped to develop philanthropy as a crucial element in early 19th century social and economic policy, for this was a brand of charity that was designed to implant an ideological message. Their alliances with the Claphamites, with other Dissenters, with Whig and Philosophic Radicals, their connections with particular MPs, their securing of aristocratic patronage for their causes, made them effective as well as persistent lobbyists for legislative change.

Glimpses of this powerful London Quaker evangelical grouping do emerge in the more recent biographies of Elizabeth Fry, and in studies of early 19th century philanthropy, schooling, and penal reform.³ A steadier examination of their activities reveals much more intriguing aspects, however, both of Quaker political involvement and of the shaping of particular political lobbies. In all this, William Allen - leading member of the new Quaker evangelical elite, chemical manufacturer, respected scientist, "progressive" Whig - was perhaps the pivotal figure.

The connection between London Friends like Allen and the Clapham Sect began with the Anti-Slave Trade campaign in the 1780s and 1790s. With very close knowledge of the economic role of the slave trade through the Atlantic Quaker community, British Friends had begun to mount a more public lobby in the early 1780s, Meeting for Sufferings petitioning the Commons in 1783, and issuing an address to members of Parliament and Government in 1784. In 1783, a small anti-slavery committee of six had been formed by Sufferings, cutting across established Quaker organisation, charged specifically with the orchestration of a public campaign, exploiting press and pamphlet publicity.⁴ Informal contacts with Claphamite Granville Sharp and his Sierra Leone activities blossomed into the wider Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1787, though the majority of its members were Quakers, and, of course, into the campaign for which Wilberforce became the parliamentary spokesman.⁵

Following abolition, the initiative was seized more firmly by the Saints with the formation of the African Institution - the Society to promote the Civilisation of Africa - in 1807, bent on evolving new concepts of colonialism.⁶ But though dominated by Claphamites, the Institution's Quaker, "progressive" Whig as well as Tory connections cemented relationships which were also to prove advantageous in the parallel development of philanthropic projects nearer home. In addition, the core of the early Quaker anti-slavery lobby - for example, George Harrison, lawyer; Samuel Hoare, snr., banker; Joseph Woods, merchant and woollen draper; Joseph Gurney Bevan, chemical manufacturer at Plough Court; William Allen, his trainee and successor in the business - bequeathed its experience and "connexion" directly to the cheap food, schools and penal reform projects of the early 19th century. Plough Court, in the heart of the City of

London, was indeed considered the headquarters of the anti-slave trade campaign at its height, and was to form a similar function as the "powerhouse" of Quaker philanthropic strategy.⁷

Already, by the turn of the century, William Allen and his London Quaker associates were turning their attention to troubles nearer home, while still heavily involved in the anti-slave trade lobby. The social effects of wartime inflation and economic uncertainty were becoming pressingly local - Allen, his partner Luke Howard, Peter Bedford, the Frys, John and Samuel Gurney, the Hoares, all lived in the City heartland, and conducted business there or in the adjacent East End. Although most members of the group probably prospered in the wartime economy, financial crisis was all the more to be feared. Moreover, inflation and food shortages were bringing the very palpable presence of destitution: an apparent army of "mendicants" - around 15,000 in London, according to the more sober estimates - unemployment, rising Poor Rates, soaring committal rates, rioting. Spitalfields, adjacent to the City, was particularly subject to unemployment as structural changes in the textile industry were compounded by disruption in trade and anti-protectionist moves by Government, and had a reputation for radicalism. Fear of a general collapse of social and economic order, of radicalism, and of the mob, must thus have seemed a pressing reality to these Quaker businessmen.⁸

The first incursions of William Allen and his circle into philanthropy were - at least on the face of it - primarily emergency relief measures, part of the general "rash of food charities", as Professor David Owen has

called them, which were operative particularly in London in the late 1790s and early 1800s.⁹ Thus the Spitalfields Soup Society, for example, started in December, 1797. Dominated by Quaker manufacturers and bankers but also drawing Anglican and Dissenting evangelicals on to its committee over the years, the organisation was, however, never simply a distress scheme. Scientist William Allen sought advice from Patrick Colquhoun, with whom he also became involved in the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor and the Mendicity Society.¹⁰ The Soup Society set out very deliberately to operate on "scientific", investigative and theoretical principles, Allen eschewing much traditional philanthropy as wasteful, corrupt and corrupting: "one great job."¹¹ Soup was thus, for example, sold rather than distributed free, in order to discourage the mendicant. But Allen was disappointed in his efforts to achieve a more labour-efficient and "discriminating" organisation based on a system of domiciliary visits and assessments.¹²

The Soup Society waned and waxed in response to the level of local distress, re-opening in January, 1799, for example, after eight months of inactivity. A further sharp rise in corn prices in 1800 brought riots in Southwark and the city area, inducing Meeting for Sufferings - of which, of course, Allen was a member - to issue a statement refuting charges against Friends of speculation in the corn trade. Soup Society activity thus further accelerated in 1801, with Allen again arguing for a more "discriminating" and scientific approach, lobbying beyond the circles of the Society itself for a co-ordinated and comprehensive relief organisation in London, "dividing the city into districts, in order to lessen the labour of investigating the situation of the poor, and relieving them."¹³

When the relief machinery was again revived in 1811/12 after a further gap, it was under an umbrella organisation with the kind of purpose that Allen had argued for: the Spitalfields "Association for the Relief of some Particular Cases of Distress among the Industrious Poor." Again almost exclusively Quaker, it was administered by a committee of about 40 meeting regularly at Plough Court. The work was divided between eighteen small neighbourhood and street sub-committees, but with a Ladies' Committee - adopting Quaker pastoral practice - to minister specifically to women.¹⁴ It was now a charity aimed at changing the food habits of the poor, and, through sophisticated organisation and record-keeping, at discriminating between cases: discriminating, it must be emphasised, not so much on the basis of morality or religion in itself, but, following the Colquhoun analysis, on the grounds of the perceived cause and class of indigence.¹⁵ Thus the Association carefully sought to avoid interference with the "laws" of population and political economy. Its sub-committees investigated and collated detailed information on an extensive scale with regard to literacy levels, unemployment as well as bible ownership. When Allen joined the national "cheap-food charity", the "Society for the relief of the Labouring and Manufacturing Poor", an organisation with far more aristocratic, Claphamite and Nonconformist evangelical credentials than the Quaker-dominated Relief Association, he carried the Spitalfields philanthropic model with him, becoming very active in organising a national network of information for the Society.¹⁶ But for Allen and his circle, such activity was essentially infused with theoretical understanding and ideological purpose. Philanthropy had to be organised and administered within the proper theoretical framework. It was thus not separate from social and economic policy, but felt to be part of it: perceived as cohesive with, and a precedent for, governmental "treatment" of the ills of

poverty, profligacy, idleness. Allen thus argued that his work of collating information on the "causes" and levels of distress not only provided vital ammunition for the reform of the Poor Laws, but was part of constructing the agenda for reform, where "a collection of facts (would) be of the utmost importance."¹⁷

Nevertheless, the soup schemes had, for the Quaker philanthropists, all the problems of being temporary expedients, ministering primarily to physical need, and, too, of being fundamentally secular in ethos. William Allen was very much aware that they were directed at "enabling the poor" to "bear up under their present difficulties",¹⁸ and that they could not engage with the more fundamental issues of educating them in order to "strengthen the bonds" of a changing society and a developing economy.

The role of the British and Foreign Bible Society in this larger educational plan may at first sight seem marginal, to say the least. Founded in 1804, its early Dissenting evangelical majority rapidly overtaken by the Clapham sect, its missionary zeal appears to stand in marked contrast to the materialistic basis of the Spitalfields relief schemes.¹⁹ For both the Saints and the Quaker converts to evangelicalism - Allen, Gurney, Buxton, Fry, and so on - however, it had profound social as well as religious purpose. Absorbing the utilitarianism of William Paley, each circle saw religion as the key to re-establishing social harmony and to teaching the essential interconnection between self-interest and general happiness which eluded the more pessimistic Bentham. But for evangelicals, Paley's analysis was dangerously incomplete. In

Wilberforce's view, "Dr Paley ... conducts his readers only to the threshold of Christianity, but there he leaves them."²⁰ The religion that should be offered in order, according to Wilberforce again, to ensure the "wellbeing of states, and the preservation of civil order" had to be evangelical religion, bible-based, stressing the transforming, powerfully educative powers of true Gospel religion.²¹

The vision of society held by the Whig Quakers such as Joseph John Gurney or William Allen both overlapped with Wilberforce's anti-Jacobin stance and differed considerably from it. But although they were keener on disseminating the principles of Smith and Malthus than Burke, "true" religion still appeared to offer the essential means to inculcate attitudes, modes of behaviour and economic understanding appropriate to a modern economy. Hence the Bible Society was increasingly seen by both parties as a perfect instrument for "promoting the best interests of individuals and society."²² As Allen enthused in 1811, the Bible Society developed into an organisation of perfect "utility". It united different factions and sects around "a principle" that was "simple ... intelligible ... unexceptionable". It combined the dissemination of the gospel and thus the "proper standard of faith" with clear social purpose. And, moreover, it followed proper and theoretical organisational lines, developing local auxiliaries under a loose central body after 1809: setting up distinct Ladies Bible Associations: operating on the principle of selling bibles whenever possible, rather than distributing them gratis: aligning itself with African Institution style colonialism in its emphasis on the need to "enlighten" Britain's trading "empire".²³

In all this, the newly evangelical Friends shared platforms with Tory

evangelicals - with whom they were also connected through the anti-slavery cause, with all the zeal of converts. That alliance was confirmed in, for example, the drumming up of Quaker support for Henry Thornton's parliamentary candidacy at the end of 1805.²⁴ The Saints, counted among the friends and colleagues of Joseph John Gurney or William Allen,²⁵ felt greater caution as to the real mileage such an alliance would ultimately offer them. "I must add to what I said about the Quakers," wrote Anglican William Hey to Wilberforce in 1806: "many of them have imbibed the mischievous tenets of Paine, and adhere to Mr Fox's party."²⁶

For all Allen's enthusiasm for the Bible Society organisation, far more "useful" in their scope for the synchronisation of religious, social and economic purposes were the Lancasterian schools projects.

Quakers William Allen, Joseph Foster and Thomas Sturge came in to Lancaster's Southwark school project at Borough Road around 1808, alongside fellow evangelical Dissenters: Joseph Fox, with whom Allen was already closely associated through the scientific Askesian Society, and William Corston, hat manufacturer.²⁷ The story has often been told - Joseph Lancaster, evangelical convert to Quakerism, had begun his school for the poor some ten years previously, developing, in parallel with Anglican Andrew Bell, the monitorial system of teaching. But its enormous attraction for a whole range of backers - Nonconformist evangelicals, Anglican evangelicals, "progressive" Whigs and Benthamites - lay in its cheapness and elasticity. For its Quaker supporters, it was a system combining both missionary and utilitarian method and purpose. It provided the perfect educational machine for the spread of pure gospel principles, themselves perceived as the key to moral and social stability. But it

also acted as a kind of paradigm of Paleyan utilitarian theory in action. The method combined, in Allen's view, for example, extraordinary economy with such harmony of interests between pupils and monitor, monitor and teacher, that the master could simply set it in motion, and let it run by itself. Harsh discipline could be dispensed with, because the system operated subtler controls by ensuring that the interests of the individual were identified with the reward or disgrace of the whole monitorial group. The system could operate instead, in the words of a hymn composed for the Royal Lancasterian Society anniversary dinner in 1811, through "wise discipline and wholesome liberty":

For here no Tyrant deals the brutal smart,
To rouse the baser passions of the heart;
But here wise Punishment awakens shame,
While sweet Reward proclaims the infant fame.²⁸

By 1808, however, Lancaster was massively in debt, necessitating a further phased enlargement of the project into a "public philanthropic association," as a range of political and groupings saw its potential.²⁹ Between 1809-1811, the Lancasterian scheme fairly bristled with the big names of London Whig "progressivism", philosophic radicalism and evangelicalism, forging, briefly, yet another intriguing set of alliances, based, of course, in part on existing connections. On the Quaker side, the expanded organisation now included Allen's business partner Luke Howard, his near neighbours Joseph and Elizabeth Fry, Elizabeth Fry's brothers Samuel and Joseph John Gurney and her brothers-in-law Samuel Hoare jnr and Thomas Fowell Buxton, as well as old anti-slavery stalwart, George Harrison, together with Foster, Sturge and Allen himself. Dissenting evangelicals Fox and Corston remained leading lights, and there was support at this stage from the Clapham sect. More firmly under the "progressive

Whig" umbrella were Samuel Romilly, a long-standing anti-slavery associate of Allen's, brought into the Lancasterian project by him early in 1811. Romilly's legal associates James Mackintosh and Basil Montagu were also supporters. So was the Edinburgh Review group involved: Mackintosh, of course, but also Henry Brougham, again an old anti-slavery associate of Quakers such as Allen and Harrison, David Ricardo, with whom Allen had been connected through the Mendicity Society, and, most crucially, James Mill. Through Mill, Bentham himself was of course a powerful influence, while Francis Place appears to have been among Lancaster's earliest backers.³⁰

With the African Institution as a prestigious model, the new Royal Lancasterian Society cultivated royal and aristocratic patronage - for example, the Dukes of Kent, Sussex and Bedford³¹ - but also developed impressive parliamentary links: with Wilberforce and the Saints, but far more closely with the "progressive" Whig connection: through Romilly, Mackintosh, Ricardo, William Smith, Henry Grey Bennet and through Brougham, who, indeed, had become something of the candidate of the grouping during his repeated attempts to gain a seat.³² The strength of that parliamentary connection is well illustrated in Brougham's orchestration of his Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders of the Metropolis, where the witness list was packed with Lancasterian allies.³³ William Allen, indeed, as treasurer of the British and Foreign School Society, was carefully briefed by Brougham before his appearance.³⁴

The dynamic alliance which the BFSS encompassed led to some intriguing joint ventures. It was the Lancasterian connection, for example, which made possible the New Lanark partnership at the close of 1814. The New Lanark investors - William Allen, nominal Friend John Walker, Joseph Fox

and his relative Michael Gibbs, Jeremy Bentham - seem less bizarre bedfellows for Owen when their mutual associations with the School Society are considered. Owen had indeed expressed considerable enthusiasm for the Lancasterian movement, and even chaired an official dinner for Lancaster in Glasgow in 1812.³⁵ At this point, Owen's Godwinesque ideas and concepts of a benevolent and educative manufacturing community seemed in harmony both with the Lancasterian strategy and with political economy. All that was needed, in the view of the evangelical majority within the partnership, was to inject those plans with a core of religion.³⁶

Harmony within the BFSS foundered, however, around 1814/15 over the West London Lancasterian project, spearheaded by Place, Mill and Wakefield. Allen and Fox were also closely involved in its launch, but the Radicals' conception of the scheme as a model for a universal and fundamentally secular school system raised many hackles. The Claphamites withdrew all connection, but there was also fierce contention among the various shades of evangelical and orthodox church subscribers.³⁷ More personal matters became intertwined. Lancaster was ejected from the BFSS, ostensibly on grounds of mismanagement but, it would seem, in reality for his pederastic inclinations.³⁸ He subsequently wreaked his revenge on the movement and on Francis Place in particular by denouncing the latter as an infidel. Burdett, another member of the Committee, used the occasion to settle old scores with Place, accusing him not of infidelity but of being a government spy. Place resigned in the summer of 1814, leaving the West London project in disarray and the evangelicals with the upper hand in the BFSS grouping.³⁹

The alliance between the various religious and political groupings survived this debacle, however, most particularly through the work of William Allen on the one hand, and James Mill on the other. One of the most interesting - and surprisingly unexplored - manifestations of this "Christian-Utility" alliance was, indeed, their harmonious collaboration on the production of the magazine, The Philanthropist, between 1811 and 1819. The partnership began as the Philosophic Radicals entered the Lancastrian circles, Allen apparently being introduced to Mill by Bentham in the summer or autumn of 1810, as keen to "assist us".⁴⁰ Allen was, then, the instigator, and carried the risk, but the collaboration that developed between him and Mill, and indeed Bentham, was real and substantial. Most of the Philanthropist's copy was from the pen of Allen or Mill, or both; some articles may have been "first-hand" Bentham, or certainly overseen by him; other contributors included Brougham, Wakefield, Harrison, Corston, members of the various elements of their "philanthropic" and "philosophical" circle.⁴¹

The prospectus announced that it was to be published quarterly, at the substantial price of 2s 6d. Printed first at the "Royal Free School Press" - one of Lancaster's Borough Road projects - and subsequently by Taylors of Shoe Lane, the magazine had established three official sales outlets by 1813, all in London.⁴² Circulation was, indeed, a constant headache for Allen. "I fear it will require all our influence among our Friends to secure it that patronage which is necessary to keep it afloat," he wrote to Brougham in October, 1810, during the planning stages.⁴³ Allen and Mill aimed wider than distribution through personal contact, however, and, bemoaning the magazine's limited circulation arranged for an advertising campaign around 1815.⁴⁴ Francis Place's suggestion that any

spare copies could usefully and fruitfully be distributed to reading societies⁴⁵ doubtless fell in with their general aims, but, in general, The Philanthropist's readership must have been relatively small and confined. What it could rely on was the various networks and circles which united in the Lancasterian alliance: evangelically inclined Friends, particularly in London, active in philanthropic and campaigning circles; evangelical Nonconformists of the Fox and Corston school; fellow-travelling Anglicans and perhaps Claphamites from time to time; members of the "progressive" Whig, Radical and Benthamite connections. Thus, though its readership must have been largely confined to London, Thomas Clarkson could reassure Allen that, through anti-slavery and Quaker circles, The Philanthropist was alive and well in Bury St Edmunds: about "twelve numbers are regularly taken in this Town."⁴⁶

Mill's collaboration on production of The Philanthropist was, in a sense, simply another journalistic enterprise at a period when the Benthamites had no paper of their own. He had already contributed to the evangelical Nonconformist Eclectic Review and, alongside "Whig progressive" colleagues, wrote regularly for the Edinburgh Review.⁴⁷ The Philanthropist was project/ effectively another stage in what Professor Finer has called the process of "suscitation" - the publicising of utilitarian ideas and strategies - at a period when the Benthamite group was also skilfully "irradiating" their various contacts and allies through organisations like the BFSS.⁴⁸ The Philanthropist readership might be small, it might be limited, but it extended into a number of different circles, all of which were worth influencing. Moreover, unlike the still Whiggish and aloof Edinburgh Review, The Philanthropist actually made utilitarian principles fundamental to its editorial stance. With the Westminster Review many

years off, it provided Mill and Bentham with a unique opportunity to develop theory and strategy, as well as to pros elytize.

But for Allen, too, the magazine enabled him and his colleagues in Quakerism and philanthropy to develop a particular blend of social theory. As we have seen, his philanthropic enterprises had a clear ideological basis and were based on a growing adherence to the concepts of political economy, utilitarianism, environmental "education" and the vital role of "pure" religion. The Philanthropist could happily use the rhetoric of an older-style philanthropy: in its prospectus, Allen claimed that its object was "that of promulgating whatever may be calculated to strengthen the bonds of society, and promote universal benevolence."⁴⁹ It covered a number of issues which went beyond the specific province of the Lancasterian circles. But at heart, this was a magazine concerned to develop a very specific view of society, government and the economy: a set of theories in which evangelical Christianity, the free market economy and utilitarian theory were fused, and where religion had a crucial "educative" role in teaching the poor the inexoribility of the new order.

To some extent, of course, the magazine acted as a news sheet covering the various projects of the Lancasterian groupings: the Spitalfields food relief projects, for example; the Bible Society; the African Institution; the BFSS. But increasingly, its purpose was agenda-setting, with a very strong emphasis on analysis of the ills of the criminal code and penal system, and of the perceived defects of the Poor Laws. Legislative and administrative reform based on the twin principles of Political Economy and Utility were frequently discussed, an article on Poor Law reform, for example - clearly from Mill's pen - reading like a rehearsal for the Royal

Commission of 1834.⁵⁰ Detailed reports were run on the "educative" work of the alliance's friends in Parliament: on the proceedings of the Select Committee on Mendicity in the Metropolis, for example, and on the Select Committee for the Education of the Lower Orders of the Metropolis.

The "reforming" potential of the institution was also a preoccupying topic, Bentham's Panopticon, Owen's New Lanark manufacturing community, US penitentiaries and Samuel Tuke's Retreat for the insane, being all discussed as "curative" models. The scope of, and proper organisation for, philanthropy was a continuous theme, too, with a distinct and developing emphasis on the role of women. Female recipients of philanthropy and education required special treatment, The Philanthropist argued, praising the work of the BFSS Ladies Committee and reviewing the achievements of Catherine Cappe.⁵¹ But women of the privileged classes also had a special role in developing the model institutions required for social reform and correction - hospitals, schools, asylums, workhouses, homes and prisons. "The superior judgment, tenderness, delicacy, and sympathy of the female sex are indisputable, and in every respect peculiarly adapted to the wants of the helpless states of infancy and declining age," wrote a contributor on workhouse management.⁵²

It was inevitable, however, ^{that} / penal reform would become one of the main preoccupations of the magazine. It had already been a subject of concern and organisation for the Quaker and Whig "progressive" elements of the circle, Allen and Montagu forming the "Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge upon the Punishment of Death and the Improvement of Prison Discipline" in 1808. Drawing not only on the general campaign experience of the participants but on the Philadelphia and Quaker-based "Society for

alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons", it had aimed to publicise various models of penal "treatment", particularly those from the US. The Society's committee membership was heavily Quaker, dominated by the familiar names of London Quaker evangelicalism - Fry, Gurney, Hoare, Gurney Bevan, Howard. An information-gathering organisation rather than a campaigning one, it nevertheless provided an important backcloth to the developing concerns of The Philanthropist.⁵³

The publication of The Philanthropist coincided with considerable public debate around the prison issue, with the Select Committee on the "expediency of erecting a Penitentiary House" still in sitting. That Committee's rejection of Bentham's Panopticon as a model left the Philosophic Radicals with egg on their faces,⁵⁴ but the subsequent Penitentiary Act which led to the establishment of Millbank also disappointed their evangelical partners. For both Mill and Allen the problem with the 1812 Penitentiary Act was that it was a "one-off", lacking any wider conception of the relationship between the "natural laws" of the economy and human behaviour, and the proper basis for criminal legislation. But with regard to the regime proposed for the new penitentiary, there was probably some difference in response. For the Benthamites, the Millbank model undoubtedly underplayed the preventive role of punishment. Making psychological and religious treatment the central core of prison discipline gave it an emphasis that was, in their view, misplaced and difficult to control. For Allen and his associates, however, "the proposed regime - of silence, of "punishment directed to the mind" - offered a synthesis between the concepts of Bentham and Howard, of Utility and Christian reformation, and a promising arena for evangelical contribution."⁵⁵

Once again, the City grouping around The Philanthropist also had very pressing and personal reasons for their interest in legislative and institutional change. Crime, like mendicity, was perceived to be hugely on the rise, particularly in London, and property, manufacturing and commerce to require protection.⁵⁶ The corrupt legal and prison systems were, again, a neighbourhood presence for the alliance, and the succession of new laws designed, ruthlessly, to protect property were seen to muzzle juries and alienate the working classes. What was needed was a system of punishment more appropriate to the protection of the economy, more efficient and effective, more available because more humane. As Joseph John Gurney was to write some years later to Mackintosh respecting the problem of retaining capital punishment in the proposed Forgery Bill, the death penalty left him as a banker "wholly unprotected from the attacks of the forger", since he could not "in conscience take any step towards destroying the life of a fellow creature". Besides, juries were reluctant to convict. If the law "would but help to put such an offender on the tread-wheel for a couple of years," on the other hand, Gurney would "feel the highest satisfaction in availing himself of its provisions."⁵⁷

The Philanthropist essentially expanded on the role of the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge on the Subject of the Punishment of Death and Prison Discipline, constantly examining the organisational and ideological principles of the various models of penitentiary. Allen built up a synthesis between Benthamite theory on punishment and the principles imperfectly enshrined in the work of John Howard, the US penitentiary model, or the regimes instituted by the Rev. J. T. Becher or Sir George Onesiphorous Paul. But The Philanthropist also saw its task, and that of its circle, not only to disseminate the principles of the carefully

inspected and controlled penitentiary regime, but also to develop more appropriate means than had yet been devised to ensure that religion was employed as a key "instrument to reclaim the depraved".⁵⁸

The Philanthropist also argued the need for an active and coherent political lobby - on the lines and with the strength of the anti-slavery movement - for which it would act as the banner and mouthpiece. By means of a concerted campaign, "a small number of individuals" had it "in their power to render, at no distant day, the grand measure, of a thorough reformation of imprisonment, easy for a good minister, and difficult to be avoided by a bad one."⁵⁹ This could be done by the organisation of effective investigation to expose the neglectful supervision of sheriffs and magistrates,⁶⁰ and by the steady "drip, drip" of statistics, facts and arguments, in order to create the necessary climate of opinion. It also required the constant publicising of the work of the group's friends in high places: the campaign of Sir Samuel Romilly against capital punishment, the efforts of Keeper Henry Newman to introduce order to the horrors of Newgate, and of Henry Grey Bennet to obtain curative legislation for the particular viciousness of the City's gaols. The paper's thorough review of the parliamentary reports on the city gaols of 1814 and 1815 was a perfect example of this strategy. James Mill reviewed the second, the Report from the Select Committee on the King's Bench, Fleet and Marshalsea Prisons, chaired by Bennet, but was advised by Allen to tone down his attack on the prison authorities in the interests of more subtle "suscitation":

... by checking our feelings a little in the way of comment, we shall gain more ground than by expressing ourselves freely. To use one of Bentham's expressions, there must be a certain degree of "preparedness" in the minds of those whom

you wish to inform before you can hope for much success. Now this will be brought about in time by facts and arguments, and I confess that I would mainly trust to them, though it is certainly difficult, when you catch a confounded villain in the very act, to avoid giving him a kick in the breech.⁶¹

That strategy of placing "facts in a striking point of view" was further advanced in 1815 with the formation of the "Committee for Investigating the Causes of the Alarming Increase in Juvenile Delinquency." Its members included most of the familiar Lancasterian allies: Allen and Mill, Basil Montagu, David Ricardo; Thomas Fowell Buxton, Samuel Hoare jnr., Peter Bedford and his associate in Spitalfields relief work, William Crawford. Following the pattern established by the Spitalfields relief organisations and Lancasterian committees, they divided themselves into district sub-committees, drew up precise questionnaires, and set out to interview and admonish some eight hundred boys in an investigation of juvenile delinquency in the City. Their report, published in 1816 stressed the role of environmental "miseducation" on the boys. Poverty caused parents to neglect their children's moral and religious instruction, and they were thus "schooled" into a life of crime. The ultimate solutions had to be comprehensive, involving the whole legislative apparatus, but in the short term, schools of industry and local benefit societies were needed, where "useful" Christian philanthropy could help underline the interdependence of the classes and the Report argued, promote new habits of economy and virtue among the poor. And, turning from prevention to cure, the Committee recommended that juvenile delinquency be dealt with not in the marauding and corrupting confines of the adult prison, but in a specially designed mild, persuasive and consistent regime of imprisonment, where the appeal would be to the offender's mental and moral sensibilities.⁶²

The years 1815/1816 were, indeed, key ones for the Lancasterian and Philanthropist group. Three Select Committees - the Mendicity Committee, Education Committee, and City Gaols Committee - sported members and witnesses with Lancasterian connections, their Reports offering critiques and making recommendations shared or indeed nurtured by the group. These reports were in turn skilfully exploited by The Philanthropist, knitting together their interconnections, and building a powerful image of metropolitan disorder, and of the necessity for "cure".

It was in this atmosphere, with crime apparently on the rise, that the Juvenile Delinquency Committee was formed and its report published. Around this time, another of the group's number was moving into new circles of power, Samuel Hoare jnr. becoming a Middlesex magistrate with jurisdiction over the particularly notorious Coldbath Fields prison.⁶³ In the summer of 1816, following the launch of the Juvenile Delinquency Report, Allen was in Europe accompanying Joseph Fry's sister on a ministerial tour, but taking the opportunity to inspect those gaols particularly admired by Howard and others as models of correction and reform, such as the Ghent Maison de Force.⁶⁴ And at the end of the year, Elizabeth Fry began her Newgate work.

The role of Elizabeth Fry and her women colleagues within the process of penal reform has tended to be misunderstood. That is partly because her connections with, and the political character of, the Lancasterian/Philanthropist group have not been fully appreciated. But there has also been a failure, perhaps, to analyse the particular role of women within philanthropy, and to recognise the particular model of

penitentiary "treatment" which Fry established.

As has been shown, the BFSS and Philanthropist circles had over some years developed the notion of a special and "separate sphere" of philanthropy appropriate for the treatment of women, children and the elderly, and administered by women. Undoubtedly, this drew on the Quaker model. Quaker women had special experience to contribute to such work, both pastoral and administrative: Elizabeth Fry and Charlotte Allen, for example, worked together within the Gracechurch Street Women's Monthly Meeting on oversight of poorer members as well as spiritual matters.⁶⁵ The highly organised networks of Quaker women's meetings could easily become the basis for the "women's sections" of philanthropy. Thus the Spitalfields Relief Association had its Ladies' Committee, the BFSS and Bible Society likewise.

Quaker women of course also held pastoral positions within the Society, lending a particular tone to those new spheres of philanthropy which they were entering. Charlotte Allen was, for example, an overseer and subsequently an elder, and Elizabeth Fry herself was officially recognised as a minister in 1811 at the time of her full conversion to evangelicalism. They certainly did not have the influence and sphere of operation that male Quaker officials had, within the Society's segregated organisation. Nevertheless, they may be said to have brought a special status and a recognised, specifically female, pastoral model to their philanthropic work beyond the Society, a model which Fry and her co-workers were to develop quite consciously in their prison work. It was carefully articulated, for example, in Elizabeth Fry's Observations on the Visiting, Superintendence and Government of Female Prisoners in 1827, where she claimed that

women's gentleness, their natural sympathy with the afflicted, their quickness of discernment, their openness to religious impressions, are points of character (not unusually to be found in our sex) which evidently qualify them, within their own peculiar province, for a far more extensive field of usefulness ...

And, she added:

no persons appear to me to possess so strong a claim on their compassion, and on their pious exertions, as the helpless, the ignorant, the afflicted, or the depraved, of their own sex.⁶⁶

Elizabeth Fry first visited the women's side at Newgate in 1813 at the request of Philadelphian evangelical Friend, Stephen Grellet, who had made a tour of the City's outcasts, arranged for him by William Allen.⁶⁷ But it was at the end of 1816 that her work actually started, drawing fully on Lancasterian, Philanthropist and Quaker models, experience and contacts. Her entree secured by the Newman connection, she proceeded along the well-established lines of the circle's "scientific" philanthropy. A Ladies' Committee was established in February, 1817, operating a full system of inspection, supervision and record-keeping, financially backed and facilitated by Newman and the City's judicial authorities. Following her own Lancasterian experience, the women prisoners were divided into small classes according to the degree of their "depravity", each with a prisoner monitor over them. Governess, wardswomen and yardswomen, were also chosen from the prisoners' ranks, thus pursuing the familiar ideal of creating an identity of interests between governing and governed. Work was introduced, and contracts obtained for the clothing of transports. In accordance with the principles of both Bentham and Howard, made familiar through the columns of The Philanthropist, prisoners were given a share of

their earnings to supplement their diet, and to be put by for their release. Cleanliness, order, sobriety, strict rules, constant work under continuous inspection: this was the regime, tried and tested in Lancasterian circles, that was to be employed to instruct the women in habits of industry and economy suitable to their sex and situation.⁶⁸

Such a discipline would also, however, in the traditions of the Lancasterian schools on the one hand, and the penitentiary on the other, prepare the ground for the reception of the gospel. And it was here that Elizabeth Fry and her colleagues made their particular contribution to the penitentiary model. Of itself, according to their evangelical outlook, rigorous discipline had no power to purge or save. But adopting the kind of stance towards penal discipline that J. J. Gurney also took up with regard to the Quaker peculiarities, they believed that such a regime might open the heart to repentance, and thus to the only "true" means of reformation.⁶⁹ Ministering specifically to women, who, it was believed, were particularly sensitive to emotional, psychological and religious assault, the Ladies' Committee members strove to appeal to the prisoners' sense of despair. The daily scripture readings, the expositions, were central to their work, the texts specially chosen to stress the sinfulness of the women, the call to repentance, the mercy awaiting the contrite. Indeed, the identification of sin with criminality was expanded into a powerful evangelical metaphor in the tract publicity, emotively illustrated, which was built around Fry's work. "All were addressed as sinners - all directed to Him who is the Saviour from sin," wrote Joseph John Gurney of the Newgate scripture readings:⁷⁰ "Are not all convicts under the divine law?" wrote Sir James Williams, in An Hour in His Majesty's Gaol of Newgate.⁷¹

As William Allen had commented of the various penitentiary models, what had been previously lacking was the ideological basis, the conviction and the strategy to make religion the heart of the treatment process. The Fry approach seemed, dramatically, to show how it could be done, and, paradoxically, to provide a powerful and distinct model for the development of the prison chaplaincy: adapting her female pastoral and philanthropic role, ministered to women prisoners, to the male, paid priesthood and male regimes.⁷²

As the Newgate work became widely known, imitative schemes sprang up elsewhere, and a national co-ordinating committee was established in 1821, the British Society of Ladies for Promoting the Reformation of Female Prisoners. Once again, the Society consisted largely of women Friends, modelled itself on Quaker business practice, and drew on Quaker organisation to provide the basis for its provincial operations. But operating also within the larger framework of "scientific philanthropy", the Committee publicised its organisation as a paradigm of the principles of "association", in which economy, efficiency and reconciliation between the classes were all said to be served through corporate effort and scientific division of labour.⁷³ Though a distinct and independent organisation from the male dominated penal reform lobby, it was also a component part of it. The Society's success in securing aristocratic patronage, ministerial support and access to friendly Select Committees followed the familiar patterns of the Philanthropist circle, and were, of course, facilitated through it. Though the Newgate work was, in a sense, the flagship of the penal reform campaign, it should certainly not be divorced from the overall operation of that lobby.

As Elizabeth Fry's work developed and became formalised, the Juvenile Delinquency Committee together with the "Diffusion Society" had evolved into the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline and the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders. The familiar names dominated the Committee. Allen was naturally a member, so was Bedford and many other Friends of their circle, including Joseph Fry and Samuel Gurney. Elizabeth Fry's brother-in-law Cunningham was involved, together with her future son-in-law, Cresswell. MPs Bennet, Lushington, Mackintosh, Wilberforce and Buxton were associated, either as Committee members or as Vice-Presidents. The key posts were held by ex-Friends Buxton and Hoare as treasurer and chairman, respectively, with William Crawford as secretary.⁷⁴

At the same time, the Benthamite presence had faded. The Allen and Mill partnership on The Philanthropist continued until 1819, and Allen kept up his connections with Bentham and his circle well into the 1820s. But the more general alliance between the evangelicals, Quakers, Whig "progressives" on the one hand, and the Philosophic Radicals on the other, was disintegrating around 1815-1818, for a number of reasons. The West London Lancastrian debacle and Brougham's dissociation from radicalism were obviously contributory factors, but the increasing emphasis on evangelical religion as the instrument of social "reformation" was clearly felt by the Benthamites to be endangering their programme for institutional and legislative reform, and distorting the utilitarian message.⁷⁵

That heightened evangelical message was already apparent in the very first report of the PDS. Whereas the Juvenile Delinquency Committee Report published two years earlier had stressed the environmental origins

of crime, this report now referred to the inward guilt of the criminally depraved. Using the Newgate experiment - with its own, spin-off publicity - as the model, the PDS emphasised the chaplain's role in the reformatory process. His kindness and sympathy, like Fry's legendary kindness, would contrast sharply with the harsher elements of prison discipline, his "mild offices of benevolence" acting as a "moral talisman - the key that opens the wicket to the human heart."⁷⁶

But the "conversion" and reformatory model of the prison regime also required the machinery of penitence, and hand in hand with the religious emphasis of the PDS went the design of more punitive regimes. In 1822, for example, the PDS withdrew its previous support for the distribution of a share of work profits to the prisoners, arguing that this undermined the salutary effects of hard labour. "Severe punishment must form the basis of an effective system of prison discipline," the Society argued. "The personal suffering of the offender must be the first consideration, as well for his own interest, as for the sake of the example."⁷⁷ Hence the vigorous promotion of the treadmill, which became the hallmark of the PDS in the 1820s. Built to "scientific" design, the treadmill appeared to fulfil many of the familiar principles of utility. It forced prisoners to "identify" with the group; it was economical, and punishment could be regulated exactly.⁷⁸

Nevertheless the treadmill was firmly rejected by the group's former ally, James Mill, as blackening the image of work and being discriminatory in its actual effects. The truth was, he claimed, that the real function of the treadmill was hard punishment.⁷⁹ As Elizabeth Fry and Joseph John Gurney made clear in pamphlets published independently of the PDS, the aim

was to inflict exhausting, monotonous, tortuous and purposeless labour: a punishment which would effectively teach the criminal a lesson and prepare for the work of the chaplain.⁸⁰

That is not to say that the PDS did not retain some of the more enlightened elements of The Philanthropist inheritance, campaigning against brutal and capricious punishment, against prolonged commit before trial, and against the injustices of the Game Laws which spread the net of crime dangerously wide. Its members were, after all, part of the Whig lobby which had opposed - quietly enough - the Six Acts, and the slaughter at Peterloo.⁸¹ The Society also drew attention to the social causes of crime, and made juvenile delinquency its special concern, establishing a refuge for boys discharged from prison. But undoubtedly, there was a steady development from the more paternalistic notions of prison discipline of the early 1820s to the total regimes of punishment and reformation embraced a few years later.

By 1827, the PDS was thus strongly backing the partial use of solitary confinement, as were Fry and Gurney, though concerned about the dangers of excess.⁸² By 1832, it was enthusiastically advocating the silent system - solitude by night, silent association at work by day - , the regime Hoare was shortly to introduce at Coldbath Fields with the advice of PDS secretary Crawford.⁸³ But already in fact the Society's leadership was gunning for the complete solitude of the separate system, and was a step ahead of the tough-minded Lords Committee on the State of the Gaols, 1835, and the Prison Act which followed it, in this regard.⁸⁴

All through this period, the PDS was a most effective lobby.

Undoubtedly, its happiest period was the years, roughly, 1819-24, when Elizabeth Fry and her Committee were the toast of the great and good, and when the Society's allies and spokesmen in Parliament were able to set the agenda for Peel's reforms. Bennet, for example, chairing the Police and Prisons Committee of 1818, designed the examination of the prison authorities of Coldbath Fields, Clerkenwell and Tothill gaols entirely so as to contrast their failure with the "Newgate model", and brought in Elizabeth Fry as a carefully nurtured star witness.⁸⁵ PDS committee members and friends - including Bedford, Buxton and, again, Fry - were prime witnesses for the Select Committee on the City and Southwark gaols the same year, while Buxton's own Select Committee on the Criminal Laws had a still larger PDS roll-call in 1819, as did the Committee on the State of the Gaols.⁸⁶ Fry, Allen and the PDS carefully lobbied Sidmouth and, with far greater mutual cordiality, the friendship and benevolence of Peel.⁸⁷ The principles enshrined in the 1823 and 1824 Gaol Acts were, to a very considerable degree, a measure of the skill of the PDS lobby, even though the Society condemned its limitations even before it became law, and increasingly criticised the lack of enforcement procedures.

In many ways, however, the PDS circle came more fully into their own after 1830, Allen forming a new anti-capital punishment society in 1829 from the Society's ranks and staging a new series of assaults through the parliamentary lobby. The abolition of the death penalty for forgery was to be their target, with Mackintosh introducing a bill backed by a carefully orchestrated lobby of bankers, financiers, and the Common Council of the City of London.⁸⁸ Continuing to massage the old links with aristocratic patrons and sympathisers, Allen and company's friendship with particular Whig ministers was far more comfortable than the previous

lobbies, enabling them to cultivate and exploit allies within the Government.⁸⁹ Hence the commission for PDS secretary Crawford to report to the Home Secretary on the various US penitentiary systems. William Allen, attending a Society meeting in 1834, recorded hearing the draft report plumping for the Philadelphia separate system before its official presentation to the Home Office.⁹⁰

With the Poor Law Amendment Act providing a precedent for economic and ideological manipulation of the populace through the instrument of the workhouse, on a model long advocated by The Philanthropist circle, notions of centralised prison administration and total institutional regimes seemed to come into their own. For the PDS, the 1835 Prison Act still sold the nation short by failing to make separate confinement the basis of a national system.⁹¹ But in Russell's appointment of Crawford as Home District Inspector under the Act - alongside Millbank's chaplain, Whitworth Russell - the Society got all that it wanted.⁹² The development of the penal institutions of the late 1830s and 40s - the 1839 Prison Act, incorporating solitary confinement: Parkhurst prison for juveniles: Pentonville itself - owed much to Crawford's design, to the PDS, and, further back, to the Philanthropist and Lancasterian circles.

The Society's support for the full-blooded separate system had, however, pushed some members too far.⁹³ Elizabeth Fry, in particular, was highly ambivalent in her response to the system. Called as an expert witness to the 1832 and 1835 Parliamentary Committees alongside her brother-in-law Hoare who was enthusiastic for the solitary regime, she repeated her view that separation did play an essential part in prison discipline, linked with hard labour and religion. But she reacted

strongly to the overuse of a system which, she maintained, must be applied with "great care", fearing an abuse of the very techniques which she and her circle had advocated bringing "more Cruelty in our Gaols than I have ever before seen."⁹⁴ Doubtless she would have felt much happier about the kind of regime developed at the Brixton Female Convict Prison, operating a graduated system of separation and silent association, with its all-female, penitent atmosphere of industrial discipline, overseen by the paternalism of the chaplain.⁹⁵

In 1835, as the PDS effectively completed its work, Allen began a new journalistic venture, The Lindfield Reporter.

The Philanthropist had folded in 1819, though Allen made various attempts at a re-launch in the early 1820s.⁹⁶ His Philanthropic Magazine, begun towards the end of 1827 and surviving only for three years, had an altogether different flavour from its predecessor. Dominated by religious purpose, it covered the interests of the PDS circles only thinly, and was in reality oriented more towards the "rural community" project at Lindfield, Sussex, in which he had been involved since the mid-1820s.

Lindfield developed as a late flowering of models of "social reconstruction" developed in the Spitalfields relief schemes, in the Lancasterian schools, and in the columns of The Philanthropist. Begun in 1824 after some years of wrestling with Owen's "infidel" unsoundness at New Lanark, the "rural colony" was designed to be all that that community was not.⁹⁷ Religion was to be at the heart of the community, the only "sound" basis for "true co-operation": "co-operation" signifying not equality, but

a re-ordered paternalism. Though lifting a leaf from Cobbett's book concerning the "rights of the labourer to a living,"⁹⁸ and mildly utopian in its notions of the "moral co-operative,"⁹⁹ the scheme's main aim was to combat Poor Law dependence, and to teach the principle that society was indeed a "social compact", the classes being "mutually dependent."¹⁰⁰

The Philanthropic Magazine, printed by the Lindfield Schools of Industry, aimed very distinctly to cultivate notions of "cottage piety". Its publication pattern, intended to be bi-monthly, was never regular, and it finally faded in December, 1830, after several re-launches.

The Lindfield Reporter, on the other hand, though also printed at the colony, seems to have aimed once more at the heart of Quaker, Whig "progressive" and evangelical activity. Begun in January, 1835, as a monthly journal, much lower-priced than the previous papers,¹⁰¹ it exuded a reformist optimism appropriate to a period when the political future looked bright, and when many of the old battles appeared to be on the way to being won. Allen and his circle had direct access to elements of the Whig administration - most notably, Russell. An organisation like the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, in which Allen was very active alongside old Lancasterian and PDS associates, had indeed re-formulated and cemented Whig "progressive" alliances.¹⁰² The Reporter displayed, therefore, a new confidence about the possibilities of further shaping the political agenda.

The paper is intriguing for its updating of old interests and campaigns: its coverage of Elizabeth Fry's new schemes for nursing orders, for example, or the shift of the old Anti-Slavery Society leadership into

missionary colonialism. The familiar philanthropic campaigns and lobbies could now be followed into government policy. Thus the implementation of the New Poor Law was approvingly covered, Lindfield being proposed as an appropriate model to complement its operation; the progress of the new prison systems was reported on, and could be linked with the parliamentary lobbies of the Capital Punishment Society; frustration at the slow development of Government policy on schooling for the poor was interleaved with reports on the confident work of the BFSS.

New strands of philanthropic and campaigning activity, and of political consciousness, were, however, beginning to be registered by the Reporter by the late 1830s. On the one hand, new edge was added to Allen's traditional appraisal of wealth's "duties to the poor" in his recognition of the potential threat to the prevailing social structures of the new labour movements - "calculated to excite our alarm" - and his assertion of the special role of the "middle ranks" in positing a new social strategy towards the working classes.¹⁰³ On the other, a somewhat new political voice was being reflected in the magazine's coverage of such movements as temperance, "immediatist" anti-slavery, the Anti-Corn Law lobby. Though in no way distinguished from older causes by the Reporter, they represented the emergence of a more self-consciously bourgeois Liberalism among Quaker circles, which would perceive the Allen, Gurney and Fry set and the London Yearly Meeting elite, as the "Whig establishment" indeed.

Footnotes to Chapter III

1. Francis Place, Account of Lancasterian schools, 1827: Place Papers XXXV; BM Add. MSS/27, 823.
2. Edward Wakefield to Francis Place, 7.12.1813: Place Papers, LXXXIII; BM Add. MSS/ 35,152, f.14.
3. For example, David Owen's English Philanthropy, 1660-1960 (London, 1965), Michael Ignatieff's A Just Measure of Pain (London, 1978), J.F.C. Harrison's Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America (London, 1969).
4. Thomas Clarkson, The History of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade; Roger Anstey, The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760-1810 (London, 1975); David Brian Davis, The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution 1770-1823 (Ithaca & London, 1975); Thomas E. Drake, Quakers and Slavery in America (Gloucester, Mass., 1965).
5. Nine out of the Committee of twelve were Friends. See F. K. Brown, Fathers of the Victorians (Cambridge, 1961); R. Furneaux, William Wilberforce (London, 1974); Michael Hennell, John Venn and the Clapham Sect (London, 1958); David Owen, English Philanthropy, op. cit.
6. See account of the African Institution in The Philanthropist, I (1811), No. i, pp. 45-52.
7. Life of William Allen (1846); Helena Hall, William Allen 1770-1843 (London, 1953). Plough Court was also the meeting-place for the Askesian Society, through which Allen, Joseph Fox, Luke Howard and other Friends and philanthropists with scientific interests met to try out experiments, thus creating another cluster of "connections". Ernest C. Cripps - Plough Court: the Story of a Notable Pharmacy (London, 1927) - indeed terms the business, "one of the centres of scientific research in London." (p. 28).
8. Select Committee on the State of Mendicity in the Metropolis, B.P.P. 1814-1815 (473), III, 231, and 1816 (396), V. 391; Owen, English Philanthropy; Asa Briggs, The Age of Improvement, 1783-1867 (London, 1959); Michael Ignatieff, A Just Measure of Pain, op. cit.
9. Owen, p. 108.
10. Ibid., p. 111; Life of William Allen.
11. Life of William Allen, p. 26.
12. Ibid, p. 28.
13. Ibid, p. 40.
14. Philanthropist, II (1812), No. vii, pp. 239-244; Life of William Allen, pp. 108-9.
15. On Allen's "Fish Scheme", see Life, p. 112, or Allen to Henry Brougham, 29.8.1812: Brougham MSS, 10,950, University College. The Colquhoun criteria for "discrimination" between cases are well described in Owen; for

the more full-blooded evangelical approach, see, for example, John Venn's criteria, quoted in Hennell, John Venn and the Clapham Sect: "Before any relief is granted information should be particularly sought concerning the moral character of the applicant, particularly if he is accustomed to attend public worship ..." (p. 144).

16. Philanthropist, II (1812), No. vii, pp. 229-237; Life of William Allen, pp 111-112. The "cheap-food charity" phrase is Owen's.

17. Life of William Allen, p. 112.

18. Philanthropist, II (1812), No. vii, p. 243.

19. Philanthropist, I (1811), No. ii, pp. 169-171; Brown, Fathers of the Victorians op. cit; Life of William Allen.

20. Wilberforce to Ralph Creyke, 8.1.1803: Correspondence of William Wilberforce, ed. R. I. and S. Wilberforce (1840), I, p. 252.

21. William Wilberforce, A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians (1797).

22. Philanthropist, I (1811), No. ii, p. 171.

23. Philanthropist, I (1811), No. ii, pp. 169-171.

24. "H. Thornton, a steady friend to the cause of Abolition, is opposed in the borough. We are endeavouring to influence our friends in his favour." - Life of William Allen, p. 61.

25. See Life of William Allen; also Joseph John Gurney, "Autobiography," 1837, NRO.

26. 24.10.1806, Correspondence of William Wilberforce, II, p. 161.

27. Allen, Life; Owen, English Philanthropy, pp. 117-119.

28. Philanthropist, I (1811), No. iv, p. 403. See also Joseph Lancaster, Improvements in Education (1803) and other Philanthropist accounts, also [n.a.], Short Account of the Rise and Progress of the British and Foreign School Society (n.d.).

29. Owen's phrase, p. 118.

30. Account culled from Place Papers; Brougham Papers; The Philanthropist; Life of William Allen; Alexander Bain, James Mill (1882). See also Elie Halévy, The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism (London, 1928); Chester W. New, The Life of Henry Brougham to 1830 (Oxford, 1961); Owen, English Philanthropy, op. cit, and Graham Wallas, The Life of Francis Place 4th ed., (London, 1923).

31. Philanthropist, I (1811), No. iv. pp. 375-388.

32. Thomas Cropper to William Allen, writing on behalf of Brougham's Liverpool Election Committee, 1812: Temp. MSS 4/26, FHL. Cropper was seeking both financial and canvassing support from Allen and friends.

Following his unsuccessful candidacy for Westminster, 1814, on the "Radical" ticket, backed by the Lancasterian group, Brougham's subsequent attempt to stand at Southwark was blocked by the candidacy of evangelical Friend and Lancasterian committee member, Charles Barclay: A. Aspinall, Lord Brougham and the Whig Party (London, 1927), p. 35. See also New, Life of Henry Brougham to 1830, op. cit.

33. Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders of the Metropolis, B.P.P. 1816 (498), IV, 1. Witnesses included Romilly, Place, Wakefield, Crawford and Allen.

34. Life of William Allen, pp. 200-201. Allen was interviewed over 3 days.

35. The Life of Robert Owen, 1857.

36. For the establishment of the partnership and the developing rift, see Bentham Papers, University College; Bentham Correspondence, British Museum; The Philanthropist, The Philanthropic Magazine and The Lindfield Reporter; Robert Owen, A New View of Society and Life; Life of William Allen. For an analysis of the political and philosophical parallels and connections between early Owenism and philanthropy, see J. F. C. Harrison's Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America (London, 1969).

37. Alexander Bain, James Mill; Elie Halevy, The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism.

38. Place Papers, XXXV; BM Add. MSS 27,823.

39. Place Papers; Life of William Allen; Halevy, op. cit.

40. Allen to Brougham, 2.10.1810: Brougham MSS 10,950

41. Bain, op. cit; also Brougham MSS; Place Papers; Bentham Correspondence, BM; The Philanthropist.

42. The Philanthropist.

43. Allen to Brougham, 2.10.1810: Brougham MSS 10,950.

44. William Allen to Mill, 18.9.1815: quoted in Bain, p. 148.

45. Allen to Place [1815?] , BM Add. MSS 37,949, f. 315.

46. Clarkson to Allen [1811?] , FHL Temp. MSS 4/6.

47. Bain.

48. S.E. Finer, "The Transmission of Benthamite Ideas 1820-50", in Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth Century Government, ed. Gillian Sutherland (London, 1972).

49. Printed Prospectus for The Philanthropist, FHL.

50. Philanthropist, II (1812), No. vi, pp. 125-133, and II (1812), No. viii, pp. 309-338; Bain, op. cit.

51. On the BFSS Ladies Committee, see Philanthropist, IV (1814), No. xvi, pp. 330-331. On Cappe, see Philanthropist, V (1815), No. xvii, pp. 1-26; also F. K. Prochaska, Women and Philanthropy in 19th Century England (Oxford, 1980), pp. 140-141.
52. Philanthropist, III (1813), No. ix, pp. 80-81.
53. Philanthropist, IV (1814), No. xiii, pp. 190-92; V (1815), No. xix, pp. 222-232; Life of William Allen; [n.a.] , The Origin and Object of the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge upon the Punishment of Death, n.d.; Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge on Capital Punishment: Minute Book, 1817-1819, FHL Temp. MSS box 4/5.
54. Select Committee ... to consider the expediency of erecting a Penitentiary House ..., B.P.P. 1810-1811 (199), III, 567.
55. 1812 Penitentiary Act 52 Geo 3, c. 44. The phrase, "punishment directed to the mind", was that of Sir George Onesiphorous Paul, addressed to the Penitentiary Committee, 1st Report.
56. Government figures for 1814-1819, for example, show a rise of over 100% in commitments for England and Wales, according to tables attached to the Prison Discipline Society Report, 1824. See, however, V.A.C. Gatrell and T.B. Hadden, "Criminal Statistics and their Interpretation", in E. A. Wrigley, ed., Nineteenth Century Society (London, 1972) and J. J. Tobias, Crime and Industrial Society in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1967); also Michael Ignatieff, A Just Measure of Pain (London, 1978) and George Rudé, Protest and Punishment (Oxford, 1978).
57. J. B. Braithwaite, Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney (1854), I. p, 401.
58. Philanthropist, VI (1816), No. xxii, p. 101.
59. Philanthropist, II (1812), No. ii, p. 7.
60. Philanthropist, IV (1814), No. xvi, pp. 367-9.
61. Allen to Mill, 18.9.1815, quoted in Bain, James Mill, p. 147.
62. "Report of the Committee for Investigating the Causes of the Alarming Increase of Juvenile Delinquency", 1816; Philanthropist, VI (1816), No. xxii, pp. 199-210.
63. G. L. Chesterton, Revelations of Prison Life, 2nd ed., (1856), 2 vols. Rev. W. L. Clay, The Prison Chaplain: A Memoir of the Rev. John Clay (1861).
64. Life of William Allen.
65. Gracechurch Street Women's MM, Minute book 1801-1813, FHL.
66. "Introductory Remarks" to the Observations.
67. Elizabeth Fry, Diaries, 1811-1815, Mss Vol. S.263 FHL; Life of William Allen, p. 119; Memoirs of Elizabeth Fry (1847); Memoirs of Stephen Grellet

(1852).

68. Gurney MSS, FHL: for example, M. Sanderson to J. J. Gurney, 4.12.1818, Gurney MSS, FHL, 3/332, and Elizabeth Fry to J. J. Gurney, 14.11.1818, Gurney MSS 1/203; T. F. Buxton, An Inquiry whether Crime and Misery are Produced or Prevented by our Present System of Prison Discipline, 6th ed., (1818); Charles Gordelier, A Lecture on the Public Life and Character of Elizabeth Fry (1862); John Kent, Elizabeth Fry (London, 1962); June Rose, Elizabeth Fry (London, 1980).

69. See, for example, T. F. Buxton's Inquiry, op. cit; J. J. Gurney, Observations on the Religious Peculiarities of the Society of Friends (1824).

70. J. J. Gurney, "A Brief Memoir of Elizabeth Fry", in Illustrations of the Law of Kindness, ed. Rev. G. W. Montgomery (1847).

71. An Hour in His Majesty's Gaol of Newgate (1820).

72. See, for example, George Holford, Thoughts on the Criminal Prisons of this Country (1821) and the Rev. W. L. Clay's remark that Fry "did more than anyone to introduce Christian faith instead of the religionised philosophy of Bentham and his disciples, as the essential basis of reformatory discipline." - The Prison Chaplain, op. cit. p. 86.

73. Elizabeth Fry n.d., Port. MSS 34.2-7,, FHL; Elizabeth Fry, Observations on the Visiting, Superintendence and Government of Female Prisoners (1827) and Sketch of the Origin and Results of Ladies' Prison Associations (1827); J. J. Gurney, "A Brief Memoir of Elizabeth Fry", op. cit.

74. Reports of PDS, 1818, 1821.

75. See Bentham's evidence to the Penitentiary Committee, op. cit; James Mill, "Prisons and Prison Discipline, Encyclopaedia Britannica Supplement, 1823. For Brougham's severance with the Radicals, post-1816, after electoral dalliance with them, see Aspinall , Lord Brougham and the Whig Party.

76. 1821 PDS Report, p. 27.

77. 1822 PDS Report, p. 14; my underlining.

78. The treadmill was, of course, already extant before the PDS took it up, but Samuel Cubitt presented his design for a "discipline mill" to the Society in 1819. Arthur Griffiths wrote of the PDS: "It made the subject of the newly-invented tread-wheels, or stepping-wheels ... its peculiar affair, and obtained full details, from places where they had been adopted, of the nature of these new machines ..." - Chronicles of Newgate (1884) p. 168-9. The PDS also approved other instruments of "corrective punishment", for example William Hase's treadwheel with revolving hand-rails, 1824, installed at Walsingham's House of Correction in Norfolk: Hase, A Description of the Patent Improved Tread-Mill (1829). The PDS pursued its campaign for the treadmill throughout the 1820s, defending its suitability for women, advocating its use for vagrants, denying its dangers, applauding those gaols which prevented "harmful association" by

fitting their wheels with individual compartments. True, it condemned "excessive" use, strongly advocating the fitting of a regulator to limit the maximum ascent per day to 12,000 feet (1824 Report). The PDS also inspected, approved and rejected architectural plans for new prisons and extensions - see, for example, A Comparative View of Two Plans for Altering and Improving the Norfolk County Gaol (1819), where PDS approval for a particular design ensured its adoption - as well as corresponding with local magistrates and philanthropists, and publishing extensive tables of government figures, local schemes and statistics with its reports.

79. Mill, "Prisoners and Prison Discipline", op. cit.

80. Elizabeth Fry, Observations, op. cit; Elizabeth Fry and J. J. Gurney, Report addressed to the Marquess Wellesley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1827) - though here the tread-wheel was rejected for women, the crank being thought more suitable.

81. See, for example, Buxton on the Peterloo issue, quoted in Ignatieff, p. 162, or J. J. Gurney's cautious letter to Henry Brady, 1819, quoted in J. B. Braithwaite, Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney (1865), I. p. 184.

82. PDS Report, 1827; Elizabeth Fry, Observations; Elizabeth Fry and J. J. Gurney, Report ... to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. See also Buxton's Inquiry, which likewise rhapsodises on the beneficial effects of solitude.

83. PDS Report, 1832; George Laval Chesterton, Revelations of Prison Life (1856).

84. See evidence of Samuel Hoare and William Crawford to the Lords Committee on Gaols, 4th and 5th Reports, B.P.P. 1835 (44) XII, 157.

85. Select Committee on Police ... and Prisons in London, B.P.P. 1818 (423) VIII, I ; Original Correspondence of Elizabeth Fry, FHL, Folio 77/78: for example, Bennet to Fry, 29.5.1818, where he thanks her for attending the Select Committee, then comments: "I mean to manage the evidence with discretion but it must be used." He hopes she was happy with the questions and adds, "I found much difficulty in proposing any without including answers."

86. See, for example, Allen to Walter Venning, 20.5.1819 - Temp. MSS 4/2, FHL - reporting success in getting the various Select Committees off the ground with the help of a lobby of Sidmouth and Castlereagh, and his appearance before them.

87. Sidmouth was most famously lobbied - unsuccessfully - on the Skelton case, and this has led to the claims by Fry's biographers, John Kent and June Rose, that she was political naive. The extent of the PDS group's lobby of the Home Secretary is suggested in the Life of William Allen, however; for example, Allen obtained letters of introduction from Sidmouth for his 1816 tour of European gaols, and the PDS obtained several interviews with him in 1817-1818. On Peel, see Peel Correspondence, BM Add. MSS, for communications with both Fry and Allen on philanthropic matters.

88. Brougham MSS; Life of William Allen, 1829-30 particularly; The Philanthropic Magazine (1829), No. v, and (1830), No. xiii.

89. Most obviously with Brougham in the 1830-34 Whig administration, and Russell in the 1830-34 and 1835-41 Cabinets. Allen was, for example, called as a witness to Russell's Education Committee in 1834. See Brougham MSS; SDUK Papers, University College; Life of William Allen; Monica C. Grobel, "The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 1826-1846," unpublished PhD thesis, London University, 1932. This view, that the PDS was an influential lobby with regard to the development of penal policy post-1830 is not shared by, for example, Michael Ignatieff, for whom the 1823 Act is the PDS pinnacle.

90. Journal entry for July 28th, 1834, Life of William Allen, p. 321; William Crawford, Report on the Penitentiaries of the United States (1834).

91. 4th and 5th Reports of the 1835 Lords Committee, B.P.P. 1835 (44), XII, 157.

92. Crawford wrote the PDS Reports, according to the DNB.

93. The Lords Committee indeed suggested that the PDS had orchestrated a swift response in order to exclude an unnamed member particularly adverse to the separate system.

94. 2nd Report of Lords Committee, B.P.P. 1835 (439), XI, 495.

95. A regime she helped shape: Elizabeth Fry to Thomas Harrison, 20.12.1821, Port. MSS 42/59, FHL; Henry Mayhew and John Binney, The Criminal Prisons of London and Scenes of Prison Life (1862).

96. Life of William Allen; Bain, James Mill.

97. According to the Bentham Correspondence, the final dissolution of the New Lanark partnership did not occur until 1829: Allen to Bentham, 19.3.29, BM Add. MSS 33,546, f. 267; according to Allen's Life, it was 1828. The moves leading up to the dissolution can be traced also in various letters from Allen to Place, Mill and Bentham in the British Museum Additional MSS collections.

98. William Allen, A Description of the Plan and Objects of the Rural Colony at Lindfield (1834).

99. William Allen, Colonies at Homes: or, the Means for rendering the Industrious Labourer independent of Parish Relief ... (1827).

100. Philanthropic Magazine (1828), No. iii, pp. 146-7.

101. The Philanthropic Magazine had been priced at 1s 6d, The Philanthropist at 2s 6d. The Lindfield Reporter was to be 4d.

102. SDUK Papers, University College; Life of William Allen. Monica C. Grobel points out that Allen was a member of the SDUK General Committee from 1827, on many of the specialist sub-committees. He also corrected material for the Society, particularly articles and pamphlets of a scientific, agricultural and "cottage industry" nature. Grobel, "The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge", op. cit.

103. Lindfield Reporter, IV (1841), No. vii, p. 97.

IV : The Assault on Quaker Whiggery :
Quaker Pressure Group Politics, 1830-1842

When William Allen warned The Lindfield Reporter of the potential threat of the new labour movements to established order, he suggested that the avoidance of conflict represented a new challenge to the capitalist, and to the "middle ranks" of society. Urban working-class consciousness, he implied, called for a new approach from the employing classes in order to deflect disruption. But it would require a re-assessment by the middle classes of their potential interests and alliances. Allen's own philanthropic and political grouping had found it both comfortable and expedient to ally itself with "Whig aristocracy". The development of working-class politics would, however, accelerate the separation of bourgeois interests from "old establishment", and require the middle classes to attempt to take the centre stage, confronting and negotiating labour's potential threat more directly.¹ Such a process of re-alignment was, as the pages of The Lindfield Reporter indicate, already occurring among Friends as elsewhere. But it was becoming evident that that process would involve an attack on and break from the very politics which Allen and his party represented.

Yet Allen's Philanthropist grouping had, of course, itself participated in the development of a more class-conscious bourgeois politics in the pre-Reform period. The anti-Orders in Council campaign: the evangelical/Benthamite alliance: the commitment to Political Economy, Malthusianism, Utilitarianism: the development of pressure group politics: the obsession with educating the labouring classes into acceptance of the "unassailable" principles of the free market economy: all provide a clear

continuum into mid-century Liberalism. The far more self-consciously bourgeois political stance which developed among Friends in the 1830s may be said to differ most from that of their "Whig progressive" opponents in terms of style, outlook and rhetoric: the kind of shift that is represented in the use of the phrase "free trade", rather than "political economy". Often marginal differences in status and wealth were inflated by the new, younger-generation liberals,² shaping a brand of Quakerism, philanthropy and politics far less theoretical and philosophical than that of Allen and his group. Their politics of the "middle ranks" were emotive, class-assertive, staking an independence from "establishment" and "privilege", infusing many of the very principles espoused by that philanthropic establishment with the unassailability not of "natural law", but of high moral ground. They aligned themselves less with evangelical Anglicanism, than with the growing ranks of evangelical Nonconformity.

Younger generation Friends had begun to carve a new niche for themselves through active participation in local Reform Bill campaigns during the period 1829-32, as middle-class interests hooked on to the older Radical movement for the suffrage. Thus Joseph and Charles Sturge, together with other young Friends, joined the Birmingham Political Union and were enthusiastic campaigners for Reform;³ Quaker Edward Smith was prominent in Sheffield's Reform movement;⁴ and Quaker interests in Darlington reaped the fruits of Joseph Pease jnr's reputation as a Reform candidate when he won the new South Durham constituency in 1832.⁵ It was not Reform itself that made such activities obnoxious to older Whiggish Friends, but the rhetoric of defiance and the radical and working-class alliances that they involved, however temporarily. Reform activism signalled re-alignments, a break from the careful cultivation of contacts

and "interest" with local oligarchies. The strains such shifts and divisions placed on local Quaker communities were to be played out in municipal contests in the mid and late 1830s, as we shall see later with regard to Birmingham.

Many of the "Reform" figures among Friends were also attempting to change the face of more familiar strands of Quaker campaigning, most notably, anti-slavery. The mantle of the original Anti-Slavery Society and its successor, the African Institution, had now passed to the Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British dominions, founded in 1823, and dominated by the leaders of the Quaker and Claphamite alliance. But impatience with the Society's moderate voice and established tactics of diplomacy, "influence" and deference, had begun to surface among some of its auxiliaries - where Friends were usually the mainstay - by the mid-1820s. By 1830, "Reform" activists such as Joseph Sturge and George Stephen had begun to target these pockets of "rebellion", founding the Agency Committee in 1831. The new strategy was to bombard the legislature with an aggressive and evangelistic campaign, aiming to bring an immediate and final end to British slavery. Through the employment of professional campaigning agents, slavery would be foregrounded as a key moral issue for the middle-classes simultaneously suing for the franchise, and would thus become a prime political issue in a new political scenario.⁶

Following emancipation in 1833/4 - the terms of which forced new division in the movement - the "immediatist" wing expanded its goal to embrace the universal abolition of slavery. With the focus of attention increasingly on the US, the transatlantic dimension of the movement became

increasingly significant, operating through anti-slavery groups in New York and Philadelphia and through William Lloyd Garrison's Boston-based American Anti-Slavery Society, and his paper, The Liberator. New radical provincial anti-slavery associations developed: for example, the Glasgow Emancipation Society, founded in 1834, in which Quakers John Murray and William Smeal played a leading role; the Glasgow Ladies' Auxiliary, led by Smeal's sister, Jane; the Edinburgh male and female Emancipation Societies, dominated by the Quaker Wigham family: the Darlington Ladies' Society for the Universal Abolition of Slavery, founded in 1836 by Quakers Elizabeth Pease and Jessie Wemyss, its male counterpart following in 1837; and the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society, based in Dublin, founded in 1837 by Quakers Richard Allen, James Haughton and James Webb. Many other former Anti-Slavery Society auxiliaries experienced an "immediatist" revival, as was the case with Birmingham's group, which took a key role in the more radical movement in the mid-1830s, under the leadership of Sturge.⁷

The provincial anti-slavery societies were significant for the Quaker community in a number of ways. As Professor Howard Temperley has demonstrated, the movement in the 1820s and 30s was, whether "gradualist" or "immediatist", overwhelmingly dependent on Quaker finance and Quaker support.⁸ In many localities, it was, indeed, a Quaker movement, and even nationally, it sometimes had the appearance of being a kind of annexe to the Society of Friends. Conversely, however, anti-slavery was one of the movements which greatly extended the arena of Quaker activity. Thus when the London-based Anti-Slavery Society spawned dozens of local auxiliaries in the mid and late 1820s, they formed part of a new Quaker network, interlocked and overlapping with Bible Society and British and Foreign Schools Society branches and so on, in which Friends mixed with Anglican

and Nonconformist evangelicals in varying proportions.⁹ Though such a network was greatly facilitated and strengthened by Quaker family ties and Quaker organisation, it also made possible new political relationships, taking much Quakerly philanthropic activity outside the Society's modes of operation and discipline. When interlinked with the sectarian but secular development of local recreational and educational organisations for Friends - for example, the Friends Essay and Mutual Improvement Society and Reading Room -, again outside the familiar structure, it can be seen that certain tensions and new possibilities were being created within the Quaker community.¹⁰

Such tensions came to the fore in the "immediatist" period, when Quakers were more likely to be in alliance with Nonconformists than with Anglicans.¹¹ Instead of deferring to the London philanthropic establishment - of which the London Yearly Meeting was essentially part - the immediatist societies were militantly provincial, claiming an idealism, integrity and radicalism which was at odds with London "compromise". The radical lobby was certainly centrally and professionally co-ordinated, often through Quaker networking: via the shared services of anti-slavery agents such as George Thompson, and the umbrella organisation of the Agency Committee. Other central co-ordinating bodies took on a similar role, following the Agency Committee's demise; first the short-lived British and Foreign Society for the Universal Abolition of Negro Slavery and the Slave Trade, then in 1837 the Central Emancipation Committee. Nevertheless, radical, immediatist anti-slavery refused to bow to London hierarchy, claiming a kind of moral virility in its very provincialism, a kind of congregational independence. As Joseph Pease snr of Darlington wrote, in 1839:

London has always resembled (in my eyes) a great stagnant pool ... The smiles of the great, aided sometimes by the influence of interested men, have paralysed therein many a noble cause ...¹²

In blasting the London Anti-Slavery Society thus, he attacked the whole tenor and strategy of the philanthropic and "Whig progressive" caucus in which William Allen and his associates had played such a leading part. In so doing, therefore, he also expressed an opposition to, and provincial apartness from, the London Quaker establishment which was characteristic of the Quaker liberals.

Women's participation in the anti-slavery auxiliaries was another significant factor in the development of anti-slavery "liberalism". As with the specialist female philanthropy of the Philanthropist group, their work was vital to the development of local networks, and to the formulation of campaign strategy. The records of the gradualist Anti-Slavery Society of the mid and late 1820s indicate that women were the most active fund-raisers, and that far from forming mere auxiliaries to men's societies, women's groups often provided the sole anti-slavery organisation in an area, or goaded the men into action.¹³ Thus Birmingham's Female Society for the Relief of British Negro Slaves, begun in 1825, predated the Birmingham Anti-Slavery Society, while Sheffield's Ladies Anti-Slavery Society, though formed after the "male" Anti-Slavery organisation, survived into the 1830s long after the latter had become defunct.¹⁴

Quaker women's role within these auxiliaries was somewhat different from their work within "food relief" philanthropy, Bible Society work, or Elizabeth Fry's prison visiting organisation, however. The task was not directly pastoral, or "caring", nor really an extension of "women's work"

within the Society of Friends. Anti-slavery activity was more secular, directed at political change. But it was also an arena where notions of women's separate sphere of moral guardianship and spirituality came to the fore, giving the anti-slavery pressure group an elevated and emotive emphasis on principle and integrity with regard to "the cause".

Immediatism thus appears to have surfaced earliest among women campaigners, most notably within the Calne Ladies Anti-Slavery Society, whose Quaker member, Elizabeth Heyrick, published her pamphlet, Immediate not Gradual Emancipation, as early as 1824. Other women's auxiliaries, however, like Birmingham's, where the wives, daughters and sisters of staid Quaker "Whigs" such as Richard Tapper Cadbury and Sampson Lloyd dominated the committee, also cited Heyrick as setting the ideal to be pursued.¹⁵ Heyrick's assertion that women's "special" claim to moral insight - an image nurtured, of course, in Elizabeth Fry's movement - gave them the greater political courage was evidently appealing. "Men may propose only gradually to abolish the worst of crimes," she wrote, scoring a telling hit against the Anti-Slavery Society's cautious title. "But why should we countenance such enormities by speaking of them in such acquiescing, unscriptural, heartless terms?"

If we hope for the blessing of God in our undertaking, we must not talk of gradually abolishing murder, licentiousness, cruelty, tyranny, keeping stolen men, parting husbands and wives, etc., etc. I trust no Ladies' association will ever be found with such words attached to it.¹⁶

Women's lack of participation in the corrupting process of electoral politics, it was implied, also preserved them from the temptations of compromise and diplomacy - the very stuff of which the Anti-Slavery Society

was made. Thus paradoxically, it provided them with the credentials to call for a new and radical political stance.

George Stephen, a second-generation anti-slavery campaigner, sought to exploit the women's reputation for greater commitment when he appealed to the female auxiliaries to help break the deadening influence of the Anti-Slavery Society establishment. Not all of the women's groups showed the enthusiasm of one of his correspondents during this phase of immediatism, radical Chelmsford Friend, Anne Knight.¹⁷ But, several years later, she was to look back on the women's auxiliaries as the catalysts of the Agency Committee break with gradualism. Her description of the Anti-Slavery establishment as an ageing patriarchy conveys both immediatism's defiant, "younger generation" feel, and the proto-feminist nature of the immediatist women's demands. Writing of the early days of the Agency Committee's work, she said:

... these wake up doings very much disturbed the slumber of the daddies ... Lucy Townsend first sent out her agents from her society at West Bromwich and our Chelmsford sent a grant to the daddy society for the agency department while as yet there were no agents.¹⁸

As with the work of Elizabeth Fry and her companions, the Quaker anti-slavery women thus in many ways exploited the contradictions in their position within society at large, and in relation to their religious community. Fund-raising was the key function of the women's organisations, whether gradualist or immediatist. And here needlework and decorative skills - Quakerism or no Quakerism - formed the prime tool. But such sewing was given a dual use, anti-slavery workbags for sale being used to "disseminate" "correct information", by being filled with tracts

and pamphlets. Albums, featuring cuttings from pamphlets, poems and illustrations, also became an important feature of women's anti-slavery polemics, turning conventional feminine bourgeois pursuits to subversive political use.¹⁹

If anything, these feminine skills became still more important to the immediatist network of the 1830s. The American anti-slavery Bazaar, particularly Maria Weston Chapman's giant Boston affair, became a rallying point for British women's groups, around which developed an elaborate but informal system of transatlantic communication, mutual support and inspiration.²⁰ But whereas the target for fund-raising and "conversion" in the 1820s had been the women of the political establishment and aristocracy, the aim now was to arouse the middle classes.²¹ George Thompson, immediatist anti-slavery agent, explained how the movement had to awaken the "dormant sympathies of the serious and respectable portions of the community." It needed to gain access to "the domestic circle," and women were "pre-eminently qualified to bring these things to pass." They could "introduce the topic of slavery ... when circumstances are most favourable ... They can carry the anti-slavery tract from house to house, and from family to family."²² Since the aim of the radical anti-slavery movement was not to manoeuvre and negotiate within the ruling establishment, but to galvanise the potential power of the middle classes to demand change "from without", women came to be seen as powerful agents of "consciousness raising" within the vital territory of hearth and home.

Elizabeth Heyrick's pamphleteering in the mid-1820s, however, also forged a more direct political role for the immediatist women: that of political journalism and organisation. Jane Smeal of the Glasgow Female

Emancipation Society, Anne Knight of the Chemsford Ladies Anti-Slavery Society, Eliza Wigham of the Edinburgh Female Emancipation Society and Anna Richardson of the Newcastle group, all moved the boundaries of Quaker women's political activity from the powerful Fry model of "mission" on the one hand, and of quiet diplomacy on the other. Their work was at once more secular in orientation, with none of the aura of ministry that was at the heart of Fry's work, and more assertively political, imbued with rhetoric of high moral and religious purpose.

The political work of Elizabeth Pease, daughter of Joseph Pease, wealthy Darlington woollen manufacturer, and nurtured at the heart of Quaker entrepreneurship, was particularly notable. She was the organiser of the Darlington Women's Anti-Slavery Society, begun in 1836, supported by the advice and experience of the Scottish women's groups. In founding the Darlington group, she and her co-workers became active members of a wide transatlantic network in which radical anti-slavery, Quakerism, and sense of radical "sisterhood" were overlapping points of contact and unity. Her first propaganda effort on behalf of the Darlington Society was a "Reply" to the Boston group's "Address to the Women of Great Britain", in 1836. She went on to organise the North-East section of the women's petition to the Queen against apprenticeship, in 1837. She wrote an "Address to the Women of Scotland", and another to the "Women of Great Britain".²³

Such petitions aimed at rousing middle-class women to political consciousness and activity, and to a special identification with the plight of women in slavery. They thus exploited a favourite weapon at this period both of the unenfranchised, and of the enfranchised male bourgeoisie who found the claim to oppressed "outsider" status a useful

tactic. Without doubt, such petitions and campaign lobbies contributed to the development of a rhetoric and ideology of liberalism and heroic "nonconformity" within Quaker circles.

Anti-slavery activity may be said to have raised bourgeois class-consciousness through a process of displacement, developing a rhetoric of middle class political and economic righteousness and muscle by means of the very distant object of its attention. Dr Patricia Hollis has, indeed, pointed out how this was recognised in the strident opposition the movement received from labour, most evident in orchestrated disruption of anti-slavery meetings by Chartists. As she says, "breaking up an anti-slavery meeting" became "a statement of class-consciousness by working-class radicals", in opposition, one feels, not only to the apparently diversionary nature of anti-slavery, but to its growing confidence in itself as a middle-class movement.²⁴

The temperance movement of the 1830s, however, aimed both at "improving" and "reforming" the working-classes, and thus gave another dimension to the development of liberal ideology.²⁵

Though preceded by individual examples of abstention - for example, Joseph Sturge's teetotalism, and his severing of business connections with the brewing industry - the real anti-spirits movement did not begin until around 1829/30. Its origins were primarily in Scotland, and in Ireland, where Friends were strongly represented in the Hibernian Temperance Society. Celtic influence spread rapidly, however, the Birmingham

Temperance Society, for example, being founded in 1830 by John Cadbury and other leading younger Friends, including Sturge.²⁶

In this movement, however, "London organisation" followed provincial example. The London-based British and Foreign Temperance Society was not started until 1831, when it followed the now-familiar pattern of the evangelical philanthropic organisation. It was heavily supported by the Allen Quaker group - its treasurer was Cornelius Hanbury, Allen's son-in-law and partner - and by Quaker finance in general.²⁷ When Glasgow Quaker anti-slavery and temperance activist William Smeal attended the Temperance Society's AGM in 1834, he particularly noted the strong Quaker presence on the platform, and among the audience.²⁸

By the early 1830s, however, the initiative lay not with moderate anti-spirits, nor with London, but with teetotalism and the provinces. Teetotalism, which had been prominent in the Scots and Irish movements from the start, and which drew in - and was even pioneered by - elements of labour radicalism, came to hold the same relationship to "anti spirits" as did anti-slavery immediatism to gradualism.²⁹ For teetotal Friends, their movement also carried the same sense of protest against the London philanthropic and Quaker establishment as did radical anti-slavery. William Smeal recorded that, the high Quaker attendance at the Temperance Society AGM notwithstanding, a proposal at the 1834 Yearly Meeting to dispatch a teetotal circular to all quarterly meetings caused uproar. He had never seen any issue at Yearly Meeting "treated in so unbecoming a manner":

It was really pitiable, indeed absolutely sickening, to hear the drivelling arguments ... brought forward by estimable individuals

to turn aside ... the right consideration of this most serious question.³⁰

Subsequent Yearly Meetings were to be repeated battlegrounds for the temperance issue, as were local Quaker communities and local temperance associations. In Birmingham, for example, John and Candia Cadbury, Joseph Sturge, Thomas Southall and others, were actively promoting the radical "Prestonian" plan by 1834, provoking considerable reaction from the older members of the Quaker community and their own families.³¹ Darlington's branch of the British and Foreign Temperance Society, which had been in harmony with the generally "Whiggish" character of the Quaker establishment there, was "captured" for teetotalism through the particular efforts of Friend John Fothergill, who transformed it into the Darlington Total Abstinence Society in 1835. The Newcastle organisation, with its close connections with Darlington, followed suit. Such take-overs were indeed part of a wave of new and "reformed" teetotal societies established in the mid-1830s, in direct parallel with the second wave of immediatist anti-slavery associations. By the end of 1835, according to Winskill, there were some 16 total abstinence societies, concentrated particularly in the North, the North-East, and in Wales, Scotland and Ireland. And Friends were key activists in many of these organisations.³²

As with immediatist anti-slavery, therefore, temperance "radicalism" was self-consciously provincial, and indeed rather cultivated a sense of "ebullient North" versus "decadent South", and even of Celtic "colonies" against London "rule". As with anti-slavery, that antagonism was played out at least in part on Quaker platforms, and within Quaker circles.

As with anti-slavery, too, women were very active in the movement,

again being exhorted to become supporters of "radical" temperance on the grounds of their sex's stronger moral and political vision. Their presence was indeed relied upon - according to Dr Alex Tyrrell - to represent an idealised image of hearth, home and family which could be contrasted with the decadence and corruption of the public house, destroyer of family life.³³

Immediatist anti-slavery and total abstinence may, indeed, be seen as complementary in their expression and development of bourgeois liberalism. Anti-slavery claimed moral and religious superiority for its enthusiastic supporters, enlightened in their passionate concern for those enslaved so far away. Teetotalism carried similar qualities of moral elevation and self-denial, but also aimed to draw in working-class allegiance to shared values of sobriety, respectability and improvement. Re-shaping and reconstructing "Whig" philanthropy's obsession with the education of the poor, the movement added its own edge to the development of bourgeois class consciousness by looking to influence and "convert" working class "dissent", as expressed through labour's protest on the one hand, or pub culture on the other.³⁴ Highly involved in both movements, whether in the "moderate" or "radical" wings, Friends both extended the arena of internal Quaker politics into their local organisations, and infused their Quakerism with a political consciousness acquired in them.

Towards the end of 1837, a new, specifically Quaker journal was launched to serve the provincial liberal/radical perspective nurtured in the immediatist anti-slavery and total abstinence movements: The Irish

Friend. True, William Allen's Lindfield Reporter had covered some of the new campaign developments of the mid 1830s, particularly with regard to anti-slavery. But on the whole, his paper had continued to voice the views and position of the London evangelical philanthropic and Quaker hierarchies, without laying claim to being a Quaker paper.

Launched, in some ways surprisingly, from Belfast and adapting the title of the Philadelphia Friend, The Irish Friend in contrast targeted a national Quaker readership, and soon began to claim the role of the Society's unofficial newspaper. Whereas Allen's original plan for the Reporter had been a print run of a few hundred with a catchment area concentrated in London and the south,³⁵ The Irish Friend had, by the end of its first year, established a small network of agents and a growing mainland readership. By 1839, it was claiming a circulation of about 1500 and, by the end of 1840, over 2,000, distributed through a network of some 45 agents, spread across the U.K.³⁶

The rising circulation and availability of the new paper must have disturbed the Yearly Meeting and Quaker philanthropic establishment for it clearly voiced the views and experience of liberal Quakerism from the start. Its copy was thin and often stodgy in the early days, limited by isolation from the headquarters of Quaker activity. But its steady development of "correspondence", editorials, and the reporting not only of philanthropic but Quaker issues and Quaker assemblies, provided a clear challenge to the strict control of communication within the Society that had operated since the late 18th century.³⁷ Some of its opponents tried to claim that The Irish Friend was read only by disaffected Friends. Yet at its peak it could have been reaching as many as half of all Quaker

families.³⁸ The continuation of The Lindfield Reporter right up until the demise of the Belfast paper at the end of 1842 - despite Allen's age - might suggest that there was some attempt to make his paper an establishment counterweight. But it is clear that, in terms of its distribution network and, increasingly, its coverage, The Irish Friend had the edge over the Reporter.

The Irish Friend was published by William Bell of Belfast, a "commission merchant, bill and share broker", with no apparent previous experience of journalism.³⁹ No prospectus appears to have been issued, and we know almost nothing about the preparations for its launch. On the face of it, therefore, its appearance seems odd. But the early numbers indicate that the specific impetus for publication was anti-slavery immediatism and total abstinence, and that the paper emanated from the provincial network of Quaker activists within these movements.

Bell was closely involved in the Belfast Total Abstinence Society - indeed for a time was its President -,⁴⁰ with its equivalents in Derry, Cork and Dublin, where, as we have seen, leading "radical" Friends predominated, rebels in the conservative atmosphere of the Irish Quaker community.⁴¹ The Irish movement had close contacts with groups in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Newcastle, Birmingham, Gloucester, and so on - contacts which were all the more effective because of the Quaker connection. Thus the very first number of The Irish Friend - November, 1837 - publicised a total abstinence document which had been circulated at London Yearly Meeting in May of that year, an appeal to the Society to endorse the teetotal position, supported by leading Quaker members of several English provincial associations.⁴²

Immediatist anti-slavery may have provided the more pressing reason for The Irish Friend's oddly-timed launch, however, Sturge's Central Emancipation Committee having been established in September 1837. The immediatist Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society, with its common leadership with the Hibernian Temperance Society, had also been set up that September, as part of the renewed assault on both Parliament and the Anti-Slavery Society over the West Indies apprenticeship issue.⁴³ Urgent appeals to Friends to support the anti-apprenticeship campaign were carried in The Irish Friend's first numbers, together with rousing polemics from the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society.

Bell also displayed his immediatist colours in his recognition of the role of women's anti-slavery activity. Reporting the parliamentary campaign, the paper offered particular congratulations to Ulster women Friends for their role in obtaining "upwards of 18,000 signatures" for the national Women's Petition to the Queen.⁴⁴ The Irish Friend also displayed all the fiery and emotive rhetoric of the immediatist network, as characterised by a literary contributor to an early number:

Erin, my country! o'er the swelling wave
Join the Cry, ask freedom for the slave -
Immediate freedom ...⁴⁵

In its theological line, however, The Irish Friend cut across the sympathies of immediatism's and teetotalism's Quaker supporters, while also profoundly antagonising the Yearly Meeting establishment. Most Quaker anti-slavery and total abstinence "radicals" were undoubtedly evangelical in outlook, though theirs was an evangelicalism increasingly more comfortable with Nonconformity than with Anglicanism: more frank,

emotional and less theological than that of the Gurney set. But the new paper displayed its anti-evangelical colours from the start. Bell's opening editorial voiced sentiments, indeed, which must have appealed to many old-fashioned Quietists, stressing his intention to "promote ... the writings of Friends of early as well as modern date," and to arouse the enthusiasm of Quaker youth for the "lives, labours, and sufferings ... of those worthies who have gone before us."⁴⁶

Such sentiments carried particularly provocative import in 1837, for this was the year of the evangelical "Beaconite" schism in Manchester.⁴⁷ That May, the final report of the official investigative committee had been received by Yearly Meeting. Isaac Crewdson and his followers had departed to form their own evangelical church, and the Yearly Meeting Epistle had swung back somewhat from the heavy scriptural emphasis of recent years. This year, it spoke of how the "conflicts to which our society has of late been exposed", had led Friends into close "inspection of that which constitutes the bond of its union." Attachment had consequently "deepened to those doctrines and practices" which were traditionally Quaker. And, it stressed, in contrast to the preceding epistles, that

the doctrine of the in dwelling of the Holy Spirit and its perceptible guidance, as⁴⁸ ever held by our society, is no dream of mystical philosophy ...

But despite the purging of the Calvinistic Beaconite group, evangelicalism continued to predominate in the Yearly Meeting and Sufferings hierarchy. The Yearly Meeting committee which had dealt with Crewdson had indeed consisted almost entirely of evangelical and Gurneyite Friends.⁴⁹ Though Gurney's diplomacy had succeeded in assuaging the fears

of some traditionalists by cloaking the concepts and emphasis of evangelicalism in the language of older Quaker theology, others protested that he and his powerful colleagues were leading the Society away from its historic doctrinal stance - the Crewdsonite schism was proof of the pudding.

The expulsion of extreme evangelicalism thus seemed, to these Quietist Friends, a mere gesture. As Sarah Lynes Grubb, a leading older-generation opponent of Gurneyism, put it in a letter of March, 1837, there was still a spirit abroad that was "temporising", despite the "sad schism within our borders".⁵⁰ British Quaker discontent was further fuelled by transatlantic controversy, the attacks on Gurney by New England Friend John Wilbur, achieving some notoriety.⁵¹ Murmurings against Gurney's influence surfaced not only at the 1837 Yearly Meeting, but at the more select Ministers and Elders Yearly Meeting, where official sanction for his ministerial visit to the U.S. and West Indies was granted only after acrimonious debate.⁵²

The Irish Friend thus undoubtedly must have appealed, in part, to this conservative dissidence and sense of grievance, with its regular publication of extracts from earlier Quietist worthies, and it was in tune with Irish Quakerism's prevailing Quietism.⁵³ But it became increasingly evident as time went on that the paper's theological stance did not merely echo the laments of the older generation of dismal Quaker prophets, such as Thomas Shillitoe or Sarah Lynes Grubb, of whom liberal Friend Mary Howitt wrote, regarding her contribution to the Yearly Meeting of 1837:

it was full of denunciation, and made in a spirit of animosity ... like some ancient sibyl ...⁵⁴

The Irish Friend's "doctrinal" position was, indeed, rather more complex and intriguing than that of the traditional Quietist. It may, in part, have inherited some of the rebellious stamp of the "New Light" schism at the turn of the century, with its aftermath of British and American ministerial visits, bent on stamping orthodoxy on the wayward Irish. But it was also increasingly influenced by, and caught up in, the heterodoxy of William Lloyd Garrison's anti-slavery group, with whom the Irish, Scots and North-Eastern movements were in particularly close touch. As we shall see later, Garrisonism developed a powerful and charismatic theological position, stressing individual inspiration and conscience as a bulwark against the tyrannical power of church authority, and early Quakerism was often cited as a model.⁵⁵ Bell himself never deviated from theological orthodoxy, though the paper occasionally carried the views of some contentious Quaker thinkers.⁵⁶ But under his editorship, The Irish Friend appeared to reconstruct Quietist Quakerism, converting it from its early 19th century links with political conservatism into a new mould of theological and theologically-expressed liberalism, whose prophets were the early Quaker saints.

Woolman, Benezet, but above all Fox: these were held up increasingly as the paper's historical models, indeed heroes, as they were for Garrison. It was not merely the spiritual elements of Fox's message that were thus emphasised, but his role as rebel and nonconformist. Exultingly, the August 1840 issue quoted a letter from a non-Friend who had "discovered" Fox:

Little did I think that George Fox and his brethren were such uncompromising advocates of civil and religious liberty, and determined opposers of the unrighteous requirements of a priestly aristocracy.⁵⁷

Nineteenth century Friends, The Irish Friend increasingly implied, had lapsed from this honourable Quaker tradition of rebellion and individualism through the insidious influence of Bible Society Quakerism. They had thus become part of the very establishment which Fox had attacked. They had been too much influenced by favours from Government, growing "quiet when they ought to have been bold and fearless." Their strong "sense of obligation, for favours conferred," had too often shamefully prevented them from strongly denouncing "as in ancient times ... things that are wrong."⁵⁸

Provincialism was the other major ingredient of The Irish Friend's editorial stance, though it was a position riddled with contradictions. The assertively anti-London flavour of the journal gained its particular authenticity from its being published from "across the water", from a base which, indeed, enabled it to extend the transatlantic dimension of radical anti-slavery the more easily. Yet that very stance implied that the main focus of attention was mainland Quakerism, that the target was London organisation, and that the politics of liberalism was essentially homogeneous. Thus although - particularly at the start - the paper displayed close connections with Irish Quaker philanthropic circles, Irish Quaker affairs were not covered, all the attention being on London Yearly Meeting.⁵⁹ The larger Irish political issues, such as land reform or the Union, were also almost entirely ignored. This was primarily because of the Catholic, class and rural dimensions of those issues, of course. Yet the radical anti-slavery movement had quite close associations with O'Connell, and there was a certain sympathy - for example, among Bell's Dublin counterparts - with demands for an end to the Union.⁶⁰ Instead, The Irish Friend adopted and cultivated an urban, British, Quaker nonconformist identity.

William Bell's Belfast publication base was indeed both a matter of rebellious pride, and of practical difficulty. Considerable problems were created by the distance from the seat of Quaker power, Belfast not even being a centre of Irish Quakerism at this period.⁶¹ Situated, as he described it, "on the very confines of the Society", Bell relied heavily on Irish Quaker and provincial contacts for his reports of Quaker assemblies. Material on the more "Whig evangelical" Quaker concerns, such as anti-capital punishment, was particularly difficult to acquire, thus undermining the paper's claim to being the Quaker journal. The Irish Friend was sadly "deprived of much valuable information", Bell claimed, because of the "prejudices of some", as well as the "supineness of others".⁶²

The profile of The Irish Friend was, then, nothing if not full of contradictions, cutting across the very constituencies it seemed to lay claim to represent. Probably only a small minority of Quaker Garrison sympathisers fully adhered to its complete editorial stance. Yet undoubtedly, the very "spikiness" of that stance was one of the main factors in the paper's development and expression of a new ideal of a "nonconforming" and liberal Quakerism. Through its version of Quaker history and Foxite theology as well as its emphasis on campaigning "immediacy", The Irish Friend was beginning to voice a newly assertive image of Quakerism, chauvinistic even, which was powerfully expressive of bourgeois class consciousness.

It was really in the last two to three years of its existence - 1840 to 1842 - that The Irish Friend came into its own, gaining both a campaigning confidence of style, and a very respectable circulation. Yet these were

the years when it was at its most controversial, and when it must have caused discomfort not only to the Yearly Meeting leadership, but also to evangelical colleagues within the radical anti-slavery movement.

Following the successful completion of the apprenticeship campaign, Joseph Sturge had led the formation of a new anti-slavery organisation in the spring of 1839, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. With its London headquarters, the BFASS skilfully united "radical" with "gradualist" supporters on its committee. Partnership was now the watchword in this new organisation, whose broad-brush evangelicalism embraced the leading members of the Quaker Yearly Meeting hierarchy - such as George Stacey, Yearly Meeting Clerk, Joseph Forster, Samuel Gurney, William Allen - as well as Quaker "liberals" such as Sturge and G. W. Alexander.⁶³

The BFASS was, in a sense, a compromise between "old" organisation and new. On the one hand, it eschewed the aristocratic patronage so carefully cultivated by the old Anti-Slavery Society, and adopted a high and "internationalist" profile with its paper The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter, organising the first World Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840.⁶⁴ But on the other, it was London-based, London-ruled, its proceedings being run by a Quaker-dominated inner caucus of its main committee. It appeared to signify a kind of truce between Quaker "liberalism" and Quaker "Whiggery", and to represent a significant re-alignment in the politics of Quaker philanthropy, after the dissidence of the 1830s.⁶⁵

The new Society was welcomed by The Lindfield Reporter. No longer

were the two wings of the anti-slavery movement "to be considered as antagonists", it said, "but co-workers towards the accomplishment of most important objects ..."⁶⁶ But The Irish Friend only briefly noticed the formation of the BFASS,⁶⁷ and was soon making it apparent that its anti-slavery attention would be focussed elsewhere. Whereas the bulk of provincial societies supported the new organisation, special overtures being made to the women's auxiliaries, the group of societies with which The Irish Friend was most closely associated expressed their goodwill, but declined the invitation to affiliate.⁶⁸ During 1839, their attention went to other schemes, and it was to these that The Irish Friend gave main coverage.

Darlington's anti-slavery group, for example, were pursuing their own tack, under the leadership of Joseph Pease snr. and Elizabeth Pease. They were developing the notion - long familiar in anti-slavery circles - that reliance on slave products could be count^{ered} if Britain used her dominant trade position to develop production and markets in regions such as Africa and India. Such a policy, however, required the substitution of existing policies of economic domination with a more appropriate ideology of economic "interdependency" and "reprocity", "progress" and "free trade".⁶⁹

At first, Thomas Fowell Buxton's Aborigines Protection Society, formed in 1837, provided a convenient umbrella for the Pease strategy, despite Buxton's gradualist past. Although led by the familiar alliance of Quaker and Anglican evangelicals, the APS had drawn in the support of moderate Whig-Liberal, Joseph Pease jnr, MP, and somewhat more radical membership - for example, Nottingham Friend, William Howitt - came in behind the Pease

connection.⁷⁰ When George Thompson, immediatist anti-slavery agent throughout the 1830s, was hired as the society's lecturer, it became a matter of course that contacts and support would be established and secured from the radical anti-slavery groups.⁷¹

For a few months, indeed, the cautious Aborigines Protection Society found itself being promoted with all the passionate zeal of the immediatist campaign. Elizabeth Pease and William Edward Forster helped promote Thompson's northern tours, and his virulent attacks on British colonialism - echoing William Howitt's Colonization and Christianity - were soon being carried in The Irish Friend. But by the summer of 1839, just after the formation of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, this intensification of the campaign combined with Joseph Pease snr's special interest in India, to produce a new off-shoot, the British India Society.⁷²

Neither the principles nor the complexion of the new Society were very different from the "parent" Aborigines Protection Society. The British India Society remained on friendly terms with the APS, sharing some of its committee members,⁷³ and it was markedly "moderate" in its style of organisation. Though its real headquarters lay with the South Durham British India Society in Darlington, where the Quaker dynasty of Peases and Backhouses dominated the committee, it also swiftly established a London base from which to martial its lobby of Government and the East India Company, drawing an array of influential "progressive" Whigs into its organisation.⁷⁴ In all these respects, the British India Society did not seem much of a threat to Sturge's new British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

The problem however, lay in the way in which the British India Society was promoted, and in the timing of its launch, so soon after the carefully orchestrated inauguration of the BFASS. George Thompson was poached from the Aborigines Protection Society, thus ensuring not only charismatic publicity for the new society, but the allegiance of just those northern, Scots and Irish groups who were declining affiliation from the British and Foreign. The Irish Friend was bound to give the BIS far greater coverage, and, through the dedicated publicity work of Thompson and Elizabeth Pease, the "Free Trade" principles of the India cause acquired all the immediatist steam of a full-frontal assault on "monopoly and oppression". By the end of 1839, the British India Society was being promoted by the paper - and soon by The Liberator - as an organisation of the radical calibre of Garrison's own American Anti-Slavery Society. Thompson, as its agent, was presented as the British equivalent of the great American himself. He was now "the indefatigable ... the talented advocate of the rights of suffering humanity in every quarter of the globe." In essence, the moderate liberal society, a strand of the developing Free Trade movement, was being hijacked for Garrisonism.⁷⁵

Such heightened promotion of the British India Society had particular significance in 1839, reflecting a particular response to bitter conflicts brewing in the American anti-slavery movement. Division had developed within the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, provoked by Garrisonite radicalism - its anarchistic view of Government and authority, its eschewing of party politics, its feminism, and its religious heterodoxy. A national split followed early in 1840, New York's evangelical activists leading a secession from the American Anti-Slavery Society to form the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

The rift inevitably had major repercussions on the British anti-slavery movement. Loyalties had to be declared with one faction or the other, and new channels of communication established, old ones cut. Since the New York evangelicals had close connections with Sturge and explicitly modelled their new Society on the British and Foreign, the sympathies of the latter's committee went more naturally to them, despite the ties with Boston developed during the immediatist campaign. And if the BFASS espoused the American and Foreign, so not only would the Quaker establishment but the bulk of Quaker-dominated provincial auxiliaries, and provincial Quaker meetings. The specially close network of contacts which had developed between the Irish, Scots, and North-East societies and the New England group ensured, however, that this minority of equally Quaker-dominated groups would side with the Boston-based American Anti-Slavery Society, and that The Irish Friend would take up the cudgels on their behalf. The heightened rhetoric surrounding the British India Society should, therefore, be understood as part of this, as the paper's shouldering of the Garrisonite cause infected its already "anti-establishment" line with new vigour.

The main source of information about the Garrisonites' experience of the schism, apart from The Liberator, was undoubtedly the women's correspondence networks. Elizabeth Pease, for example, elicited, received and then disseminated the latest news from her "sisters" on the Boston front. In July, 1839, she was writing to Maria Weston Chapman requesting the names of "all who are recreant" from "true" anti-slavery, and in August, Chapman responded with her pamphlet, Right and Wrong in Massachusetts. That summer, too, Elizabeth Pease and George Thompson met with Boston Garrisonites, Wendell and Ann Phillips, in London, to be fully

briefed about the perfidies of the seceders.⁷⁶

The ructions within the American movement did not only affect British Quakers indirectly, however. They struck right at the heart of the Society of Friends by implicating American Friends and American Yearly Meetings. Friends in New England, New York, Philadelphia, Indiana and Ohio, were deeply affected by the power struggle within the anti-slavery movement, for example. Again, Elizabeth Pease and other "radical" women Friends received news of the latest attempt by their radical counterparts to challenge their Quaker hierarchies on the anti-slavery front, and of the latest rejection by those hierarchies of anti-slavery activism. Pease compiled a special file on the situation within New England Yearly Meeting, and the case of William Bassett.⁷⁷

The disciplining of Non-Resister and leading local Garrisonite Bassett and his companions by the New England Meeting for Sufferings in 1838 in many ways typified the kind of confrontation with establishment that the radicals actively sought. As many American churches defended their non-involvement with anti-slavery by quoting bible and church order, the Garrisonites whipped the broad campaign against Christian apathy into a frenzied attack on "pro slavery" orthodoxy and evangelicalism. Schism and secession became dramatic symbols of dissociation from such colluding quiescence, but also from the enslaving, as well as slave-supporting, tyranny of church authority. Garrisonite seceders from their churches, Bassett among them, wore conflict on their sleeves, joining gloriously the ranks of what Massachusetts radical, Parker Pillsbury, was to call the "sect of the come outers".⁷⁸

Such heroic gestures against church establishment in general, and Quaker establishment in particular, naturally caught the sympathies of British Quaker radicals. But the Bassett case might have died a swift death in British Quaker circles had it been only a symptom of Garrisonite discord. In fact, it raised far wider issues concerning American Friends' position on slavery. It was not simply that the Society of Friends in America seemed to have conceded the leadership of the anti-slavery movement to others. There was evidence of some meetings eschewing contact with any strand of the anti-slavery movement, and of isolating anti-slavery activists. There was evidence of the segregation of free blacks attending Meeting for Worship, and of collaboration with the spurious "anti-slavery" organisation, the Colonisation Society. Concern at such issues was undoubtedly strongest and most vociferous among the Garrisonites, British and American, who also accused British Gurneyites of acquiescing in U.S. Quaker passivity.⁷⁹ But it was certainly shared by the evangelical wing of the American anti-slavery movement, including many Friends, and by BFASS and Quaker liberal evangelical circles. Joseph Sturge had himself spoken feelingly on the subject at the Yearly Meeting of 1837, following his visit to the States and West Indies in 1837. He deeply regretted "that the ardor of Friends in America was greatly abated on the subject of slavery". He had discovered, for example, that in contrast to the U.K., there were no Friends on the Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and that the senior Philadelphia Yearly Meeting had actually advised its members not to join anti-slavery societies and described anti-slavery tracts as "incendiary publications".⁸⁰

When Elizabeth Pease collated her correspondence on the Bassett case into a pamphlet, The Society of Friends in the United States : their Views

of the Anti-Slavery Quakers, in the spring of 1840, securing a lengthy review and lengthy quotations in The Irish Friend, she thus placed a very fierce cat among the Quaker pigeons.⁸¹ Accompanied by a series of passionate attacks on Quakerism published in the Boston Liberator in March and April, the pamphlet inspired William Bell to rally his readers to the authentic message of the early Quaker heroes.⁸² In direct parallel to the heterodox Liberator, he regretted the passing of the American Society into a state of "priestcraft", "basking", in Garrison's words, like "a great tortoise ... in the sun." It was bad enough for any Christian to stand by while fellow human-beings were enslaved, but that "FRIENDS, the inheritors of, and the successors in the same religious faith, of Lay and Sandiford, of Woolman and Benezet, should be passive spectators of the sufferings of their enslaved brethren," was beyond endurance.⁸³

Evidently attacked for disloyalty following this assault in the April issue, Bell responded with renewed vigour in May:

Our heart bleeds for Africa! - and whether we recognise in her oppressors FRIENDS or Methodists, Baptists or Presbyterians, Episcopalians or Romanists, we know of no valid ground for crying 'peace, peace,' when there is no peace.

Such rhetoric carried the authentic and disturbing ring of "come outerism", especially irritating to the Quaker establishment coming, as it did, only three years after the Beaconite rift, and timed to have the maximum impact on the London Yearly Meeting assembly that month. Yet the issues raised by Pease and her allies could not be brushed aside by the "mother" of yearly meetings. Anti-slavery was the issue of the hour with the BFASS-organised World Anti-Slavery Convention set to follow the Yearly

Meeting, and the atmosphere among Friends and within the movement thus bristled with conflict and countercurrents.

William Bell himself was not at the Yearly Meeting. But some 40 Irish Friends were reported to have attended, some key supporters of the paper among them - for example, Thomas Bewley, of Dublin. They were also joined by other regular correspondents of the Irish Friend, such as William Smeal of Glasgow, and John Wigham of Edinburgh. How exactly the hidden agenda of the Bassett case surfaced is not possible to gauge, but surface it did in the form of an instruction to the Committee on Epistles to draw up a special message to American Friends on anti-slavery. That Committee and the Meeting for Sufferings which subsequently revised and despatched it were both bodies still dominated by the old evangelical establishment, of course, now also powerful within the BFASS, anxious to avoid confrontation with any American Yearly Meeting. Nevertheless, the Epistle put the case for anti-slavery activity quite clearly: "we desire to press it upon you still to labour for the removal of all those unjust laws, and limitations of right and privilege consequent upon the unwarrantable distinction of colour ..." In its first proper report of the Yearly Meeting, The Irish Friend congratulated the Society for its despatch of this document, and promised to publish it. Some kind of draw had, arguably, been achieved.⁸⁵

As the Yearly Meeting drew to a close, delegates and observers of the World Anti-Slavery Convention were already gathering, adding to the atmosphere of controversy which the special Epistle had endeavoured to calm. Although the problems within the Quaker transatlantic community could now take second place to the difficulties of the anti-slavery movement itself, the tensions among Friends were still considerable.

Representatives from all sections of the now openly divided U.S. anti-slavery movement were present in force, Garrison's own contingent including women whose credentials, the Quaker-dominated organising committee had already made plain, would not be recognised. The radical delegations also included Hicksite Friends - for example, the Philadelphia Garrisonites Lucretia and James Mott, whom Yearly Meeting and BFASS stalwart Josiah Forster lost no time in publicly denouncing as "false Friends." And William Bassett himself was a member of the Massachusetts delegation.⁸⁶

The Convention has become infamous for its rejection of the American women delegates, but the "women's rights" issue was essentially a dramatic symbol of the Garrisonites' test of, and challenge to, the assembly's anti-slavery credibility. The opening session had been carefully planned so as to create the maximum aura of solemnity and dignity under the chairmanship of elder statesman Thomas Clarkson, and, it was hoped, so as to diffuse dissent. But Wendell Phillips immediately raised the question of the Convention's failure to seat the women delegates. The establishment role was correspondingly assumed by the leading figure of the Quaker hierarchy George Stacey, Clerk to the Yearly Meeting, and BFASS Committee member. In an atmosphere electric with derision on the part of the anti-Garrisonites, and with righteous anger on the part of the radicals - "it was just like a House of Commons uproar", noted Dublin Quaker delegate, James H. Webb⁸⁷ - Stacey stressed the "reasonableness" of the women's exclusion. The customs of "this country", he said, were well-known and uniform. "Unless females are specially associated together ... they do not become a part of the working committees."⁸⁸ The incongruity of such a statement from a Quaker was not lost on members of the Irish Friend group. Anne Knight of Chelmsford wrote afterwards to

the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, pointing out that if Quaker women "may handle the holy things", was it for "our sect to raise its voice opposing women's secular and moral engagements?" The American anti-slavery Friends ought, she suggested to write immediately along these lines to the BFASS headquarters in Broad Street: "a most inappropriate name, it ought to be the street which is called straight."⁸⁹

The motion to seat the women delegates was, of course, lost. The women were confined to the gallery and, despite efforts behind the scenes, were also refused permission to hold their own separate fringe meetings. The male members of Garrison's delegation declared their solidarity by refusing to take their seats in the main body of the hall. But the vote signified a victory not merely for patriarchy, but for the now official alliance of the British and Foreign and American and Foreign. And with the sealing of that alliance went the blessing of the British Quaker establishment, and the main body of the Society.⁹⁰

That victory also ensured that the rest of the Convention was firmly under BFASS control. The session on the US churches' collusion with slavery kept well away from the sore topic of the role of American Friends, despite George Thompson's impassioned speech, with its veiled reference to the Pease indictments.⁹¹ In the view of Sturge and the BFASS committee, the Convention had settled down to a most satisfactory occasion, after the uneasy start. To the Garrisonites and their British counterparts, of course, it had all been a sham, no more than a "conference of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society," from which "one half of the human race" had been excluded.⁹² It had been merely a pseudo-international convention which, as William Howitt wrote, had "converted itself into the fagend of

the yearly meeting of the Society of Friends," confirming more emphatically than that assembly the same status quo.⁹³ Yet the Convention had provided a meeting place and a rallying point for the Irish Friend group and the American radicals, many of them making personal contact for the first time. And it fired the British Quaker Garrisonites with new enthusiasm for the authentic brand of liberalism.⁹⁴

Following the Convention, the final phase of the battle for anti-slavery allegiance was mounted, although the outcome was very much a foregone conclusion. The leadership of both wings of the movement - American and British evangelicals, on the one hand, American and British Garrisonites on the other - now embarked on exhausting propaganda tours of the British Isles, endeavouring to keep their supporters loyal, to win wavering groups to their view, and to form new branches of their party. William Lloyd Garrison and Nathaniel P. Rogers travelled with George Thompson to Scotland, while the Motts set out immediately for Ireland. BFASS secretary John Scoble and American and Foreign leaders Birney and Stanton also headed north to Scotland, and then to Ireland. In September, John A. Collins, agent for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, took Garrison's place, touring Britain with freed slave, Charles Remond.⁹⁵

Able to count on a far wider network of contacts through the official auxiliary system, and on the sure support of the bulk of the provincial Quaker hierarchy, the Scoble party had victory in their pocket from the start. By the end of 1840, Scoble was writing confidently to Sturge that they had little to fear from Garrisonism and that, he believed, even Scotland would be theirs.⁹⁶ Indeed, though Glasgow, Dublin and Darlington held firm to the Garrisonite faith, in Edinburgh the men's society went

"New Organisation" against the women's Garrisonism. The radicals now felt Collins' tour to have been a tactical error. For the present at least, they would have to be content with a rump of loyal support, which might provide the basis for future rally.

The Irish Friend, however, has to be regarded as one of the remaining bastions of Garrisonism, continuing to develop an increasingly cogent, radical Quaker viewpoint, infused with the rhetoric of The Liberator.⁹⁷ Each month's issue during the remainder of 1840, following the Convention, furthered the critique of American Friends for their political neutrality and colour prejudice, reaching a peak in the September and October issues, the months of particular struggle for the Irish and Scottish anti-slavery strongholds by the Scoble and Collins parties.

In October, the paper published an editorial from the August edition of the Philadelphia Friend, a conservative organ whose Quietism the Irish Friend had previously cited approvingly. The article seemed to confirm all the charges against U.S. Friends. It disclaimed all involvement and sympathy with anti-slavery agitation: it called race prejudice a secondary issue. With such damning evidence of "pro-slavery" complicity, Bell proudly fended off the charges of "treason" and "dissaffection" he was now evidently receiving from both sides of the Atlantic.

Despite the retreat of British Garrisonism, indeed, the paper was on the crest of a wave of journalistic success, and of "opposition" heroism. The Irish Friend had achieved notice and notoriety as a fighting paper, lively, flaunting controversy, even attracting BFASS notable Captain Stuart to its Correspondence columns in a heated debate on the vices and virtues

of Garrisonism.⁹⁸ Significantly, Bell now felt justified in expanding the size of his paper, and almost doubling the subscription, though this was to prove a disastrous miscalculation.⁹⁹

Early in 1841 there were signs of a tentative re-establishment of links between The Irish Friend group and the BFASS liberals, and some division within the BFASS and Yearly Meeting establishment. Both "liberal" and "radical" wings of Quakerism and of anti-slavery united furiously against the Liberia schemes of the American Colonisation Society, and suspiciously with regard to Buxton's Niger scheme, which was earning the warm support of William Allen in The Lindfield Reporter. In the April number of The Irish Friend, Bell called emotionally for single-minded co-operation with the BFASS for "immediate and universal emancipation," against the "plausible" but evil plans of others. In May, John Scoble, secretary of the BFASS, was using its columns to attack the Colonisation Society's R. R. Gurley.¹⁰⁰

The vexed issue of sugar duties also furthered the renewed alliance between The Irish Friend group and the BFASS liberal leadership. Again Sturge and Scoble used the columns of the Belfast paper to put their views, thus extending their platform beyond the rather dull confines of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter.¹⁰¹ But it was continuing anxiety about American Friends' position on slavery - centred particularly around developments in Indiana - which really cemented the connection. Though Sturge continued to regret that any abolitionist should link "other topics" with anti-slavery, his "Open Letter to American Friends", published in The Irish Friend in September, 1841, fully endorsed Bell's fiercest criticisms of U.S. Quakerism's "pro-slavery" position.¹⁰² John Scoble seemed to set the seal on the renewed alliance when he wrote -

vis a vis the sugar question - "your paper ... is well adapted to exert influence , under present circumstances, on this subject, in the circles in which it is read."¹⁰³

At the start of 1842, The Irish Friend added a new issue to its pretty confined list of "radical" causes, building on the essentially "free trade" character of the British India Society to endorse the Anti-Corn Law League. John Bright's use of its columns would again appear to signal the paper's arrival as a voice of mainstream Quaker liberalism, and the fuller flowering of that liberal identity among Friends.¹⁰⁴ Yet in this, its last year, The Irish Friend made no reference to the rise of Miall's Nonconformist, and carried no mention of Sturge's developing Complete Suffrage activities until September, 1842, only two months before the paper's demise.¹⁰⁵

Part of the truth may have been that Bell was now struggling painfully to keep the paper going, making it increasingly difficult to ensure adequate coverage of mainland British liberal issues. During 1842, he published a number of appeals to recalcitrant subscribers, and the writing was evidently on the wall when he made a trip to England in August - leaving The Irish Friend to be botched together - perhaps to discuss some kind of rescue package with his closest supporters, or even the takeover by the Glasgow Smeal brothers which was to eventually take place. It was business troubles which finally finished the paper, not the obstruction by or opposition from the Quaker establishment that had certainly been mounted, the last number appearing in November, 1842. By December, Bell had abandoned his other business concerns and was on his way to the United States, thus avoiding bankruptcy.¹⁰⁶

The events which followed the rather sudden demise of The Irish Friend indicate the extent to which, fumbling and thin on hard news as it often was, it had made its mark as a journal in permanent opposition to the prevailing Quaker rule. By December, only a month after The Irish Friend's collapse, William Allen had gracefully retired from The Lindfield Reporter, leaving the field wide open for new Quaker press initiatives.¹⁰⁷ The Irish Friend's shoes were filled almost immediately by the launch of the Smeal brothers' The British Friend, from Glasgow. But the Yearly Meeting establishment also lost no time in launching a counterweight, The Friend, published from London.¹⁰⁸ Now that establishment would be more adequately represented in the field which The Irish Friend had so successfully developed. A new political battle for the hearts and minds of the Quaker community was now on.

Footnotes to Chapter IV

1. Allen's consideration of the implications of the developing labour movement - particularly Owenism - spans a number of articles. But see particularly The Lindfield Reporter, IV (1841), No. vii, p. 97.

2. Probably the most marked difference in social status between the two groups was between the more established business position of the Allen/Gurney group, and the tendency for the "liberal" group to be still developing and building their enterprise, or indeed changing the production and employment structures of their businesses (see below, ch. VI). However, this is a generalisation which can be immediately contradicted by particular examples - for example, Joseph Sturge. But if "enterprise" helped shape political consciousness, this was also linked to the "generation gap" - there was a difference of, on average, 10 years between the Allen/Gurney group and the Quaker "liberals". Most of the former were in their 40s, 50s - or in Allen's case, 60 - in 1830, while the latter were mostly in their early 30s. However, as we shall see, the shade of an individual's "Whiggery", "liberalism" or "radicalism" was also influenced and patterned by locality, family connections, and gender.

3. Henry Richard, Memoirs of Joseph Sturge (1865), ch. 3; see below, ch. VI. See also A. Tyrrell, Joseph Sturge (London, 1987), p. 54.

4. Dictionary of Quaker Biography, typescript, FHL.

5. Diaries of Francis Mewburn, 1832/33, MSS, vol. I. facsimile, Darlington Local History Library; see below, ch. VII.

6. See Howard Temperley, British AntiSlavery, 1833-1870 (London, 1972). George Stephen was not, of course, a Friend, but son of Claphamite abolitionist, James Stephen. See also A. Tyrrell, Joseph Sturge, Ch. V.

For the relationship between the Agency Committee campaign, its new electoral tactics, and the Reform movement, see Henry Richard, Memoirs of Joseph Sturge, ch. 3, and Roger Anstey, "The Pattern of British Abolitionism", in Christine Bolt and Seymour Drescher, eds., Anti-Slavery, Religion, and Reform (London, 1980).

7. Temperley, British AntiSlavery; Clare Taylor, British and American Abolitionists (Edinburgh, 1974). There were considerable family connections between the Scots, Irish and North-East groups: see [Mary Edmundson?], Eliza Wigham: A Brief Memorial [1901?], also Taylor and Temperley. Such interrelationships may have been particularly significant in Scotland where, according to George B. Burnet, The Story of Quakerism in Scotland, 1650-1850 (London, 1952), Friends never numbered more than about 200 over the 19th century, and were concentrated on Edinburgh and Glasgow.

8. Temperley, British AntiSlavery; Temperley, "Anti-Slavery", in Patricia Hollis, ed., Pressure from Without (London, 1974).

9. Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition Slavery ... , Accounts of Receipts and Disbursements, 1823-26 and 1829-31. For interlocking Quaker membership between anti-slavery and other local philanthropic and religious societies, see below, chs. VI and VII.

10. Birmingham Friends' Reading Room, for example, was founded in 1823, its first president being John Cadbury; Darlington's Friends' Essay Society was started in 1828. See below, chs. VI and VII.

11. Seymour Drescher, "Two Variants of anti-slavery: religious organisation and social mobilisation in Britain and France, 1780-1870," in Bolt and Drescher, eds., Anti-Slavery, Religion and Reform.

12. Joseph Pease snr to F. C. Brown, February, 1839, quoted in John Hyslop Bell, British Folks and British India (1891), p. 50.

13. Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery Accounts, as above.

14. Minute Book of Birmingham Ladies' Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves, 1825-1852, and Birmingham Anti-Slavery Society Minute Book, 1826-1837, Birmingham Central Library archives. For Sheffield, see N. B. Lewis, "The Abolitionist Movement in Sheffield, 1823-1933," Bulletin of John Rylands Library, XVIII, (1934), no. 2. See also Tyrrell, Joseph Sturge, p. 50.

15. 1st Report of the Female Society for Birmingham ... for the Relief of British Negro Slaves, 1826. See also below, ch. VI.

16. Elizabeth Heyrick, Letters on the Necessity of a Prompt Extinction of British Colonial Slavery (1826). See also Eliza Wigham's The Anti-Slavery Cause in America and its Martyrs (1863) for the claim that Heyrick's immediatism was a key source of inspiration for William Lloyd Garrison. See also Tyrrell, Joseph Sturge, pp. 49-50.

17. Letters from George Stephen to Anne Knight, 1830, miscellaneous Anne Knight Correspondence, MSS, FHL.

18. Quoted in Alex Tyrrell, "'Women's Mission' and Pressure Group Politics in Britain (1825-60)," Bulletin of John Rylands University Library of Manchester, LX (1980-81), p. 225.

19. Quotes from the 1st Report of the Female Society for Birmingham ... for the Relief of British Negro Slaves, 1826. See also Minute Book of the Birmingham Ladies Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves, 1825-1852; also N. B. Lewis, "The Abolitionist Movement in Sheffield", op. cit. More generally, see F. K. Prochaska, Women and Philanthropy in 19th Century England (Oxford, 1980).

20. See the Taylor collection of correspondence between the British and American women: British and American Abolitionists, op. cit. The minutes of the Bristol and Clifton Ladies Anti-Slavery Society give considerable insight into the organisational detail around the Bazaar: Minute Book of the Bristol and Clifton Auxiliary Ladies Anti-Slavery Society, 1840-1861, Estlin Papers, Dr Williams Library. Similarly, an account of the 1846 Boston Bazaar, which made \$4,000, lists the British contributions as including paintings, drawings, autographs, and "novel and beautiful porcelain door-handles and plates," from Elizabeth Pease of Darlington: printed pamphlet, Hibernian Ladies Anti-Slavery Society, (1846).

21. The 1st Report of the Female Society for Birmingham for the Relief of British Negro Slaves, 1826, spoke of the prime requirement to alert members

of the "affluent influential classes" to the anti-slavery cause. In contrast, Jane Smeal, secretary of the Glasgow Ladies' Auxiliary, wrote that the "leisured class" was not "the class who take an active part in this cause ... our Subscribers, and most efficient members are all in the middling and working classes ...": Jane Smeal to Elizabeth Pease, December, 1836; Taylor, p. 55.

22. Extracts from George Thompson's New York journal: Lindfield Reporter, I (1835), No. vii.

23. Darlington Ladies' Society for the Universal Abolition of Slavery, printed pamphlet (1837); "To the Females of Great Britain", circular published by the Darlington Ladies' Society for the Universal Abolition of Slavery (1838); Taylor, op. cit; Bell, British Folks and British India, op. cit; [Anna M. Stoddart], Elizabeth Pease Nichol (1899).

24. Patricia Hollis, "Anti-Slavery and British Working Class Radicalism in the Years of Reform", in Bolt and Drescher, eds., Anti-Slavery, Reform and Religion. Instances of such interruptions surface, for example, in the minutes of the Glasgow Emancipation Society: this was despite the tendency of Glasgow Chartism to ally itself with middle class radicalism. The AGM of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was also disrupted in 1840 by Chartist demonstrators: Lindfield Reporter, IV (1841), No. 5.

25. See, for example, Professor Brian Harrison's discussion of the relationship between temperance and attempts at dietary "reformation": Drink and the Victorians (London, 1971), ch. I.

26. Henry Carter, The English Temperance Movement (London, 1933), I; Harrison, op. cit; P. Winskill, The Temperance Movement and its Workers (1892). On Birmingham, see, for example, "The Birmingham Temperance Union: A Seventy Years Retrospect", The Good Templars' WATCHWORD, XXVIII (1901), No. 1414. On Dublin, see Hannah Maria Wigham, A Memoir of Richard Allen (1886) and the obituary notice of R. D. Webb by S. May, in the Estlin Papers, Dr Williams Library.

27. Harrison, Drink and the Victorians; Winskill, The Temperance Movement.

28. William Smeal, Memorandums of Yearly Meeting 1834, FHL MSS, Box H2/6.

29. See Drink and the Victorians and The Temperance Movement. Also Brian Harrison, "Teetotal Chartism", History, LVIII (1973), pp. 193-216.

30. William Smeal, Memorandums of Yearly Meeting 1834.

31. See below, ch. VI. H. C. Alexander, Richard Cadbury of Birmingham (London, 1906); A. G. Gardiner, Life of George Cadbury (London, 1923).

32. Winskill. See also Brian Harrison and Barrie Trinder, Drink and Sobriety in an Early Victorian County Town: Banbury 1830-1860: English Historical Review, Supp. 4 (Aberdeen, 1969).

33. Alex Tyrrell, "'Woman's Mission' and Pressure Group Politics", op. cit.

34. See, for example, Drink and the Victorians; Tryge R. Tholfsen, Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England (London, 1976).

35. Allen's original plan was for a subscriber base of 80, each receiving and distributing 5 copies: Lindfield Reporter, I (1835), No. i.

36. Bernard Canter, "A Pioneer Quaker Newspaper: The Irish Friend (1837-1842)", unpublished paper, 1967. B. Canter points out that the percentage of British over Irish marriage and death notices in The Irish Friend had risen to 92% by 1842.

37. This is in clear contrast to The Lindfield Reporter which did not carry correspondence, nor editorials: nor did it report on Quaker meetings. There was, of course, a strong tradition of Quaker polemics and dissent, expressed in unofficial pamphlet wars. The Irish Friend however offered a permanent, nationally circulated, forum for debate, and this was new. Bernard Canter indeed argues that the reporting of London Yearly Meeting, for example - The Irish Friend's first real shot at this was in 1840 - clearly challenged Quaker notions of the "sense of the meeting" where weighty Friends prevailed, and appeared to lay claims to ideas of debate and democracy. Such issues were to be more clearly articulated, however, in the confrontation between the Belfast paper's successor, The British Friend and the more established Friend: see following chapter.

38. Editorial, Irish Friend, III (October, 1840), no. 3.

39. Belfast Directory, 1841-2: cited in Canter, "The Irish Friend".

40. Obituary of William Bell, British Friend, April, 1871: quoted in Canter, "The Irish Friend".

41. "Nineteen out of twenty English Quakers are decided Radicals or at least whigs. Nineteen out of twenty Irish Quakers are rank Tories ...": R. D. Webb to Maria Weston Chapman, 22.2.1842, in Taylor, p. 168.

42. This was the "Address to the Society of Friends on the Temperance Reformation", with signatories including Richard Cadbury of Birmingham, George Richardson of Newcastle, and Samuel Bowly of Gloucester.

43. D. C. Riach, "Richard Davis Webb and Anti-Slavery in Ireland", in AntiSlavery Reconsidered, ed. L. Perry and M. Fellman (Louisiana, 1979).

44. Irish Friend, I. (December, 1837), No. 2.

45. Irish Friend, I. (January, 1838), No. 3.

46. Irish Friend, I (November, 1837), No. 1.

47. See Elizabeth Isichei, Victorian Quakers (Oxford, 1970); Rufus M. Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism (London, 1921), I; J. B. Braithwaite, Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney (1854).

48. LYM Minutes and Epistles, 1837.

49. The investigative Committee appointed by Yearly Meeting in 1835 included Gurney himself, George Stacey, (to become Clerk in 1838), Josiah Forster, William Forster, William Allen, and extreme and dissident evangelical Edward Ash, Edward Pease, Peter Bedford: LYM Minutes and Epistles.

50. A Selection of the Letters of the Late Sarah Grubb (1848), p. 351.
51. John Wilbur, Letters to a Friend on some of the Primitive Doctrines of Christianity (1832).
52. See R. Jones, Later Periods, I. pp. 516-517; also David E. Swift, Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer and Quaker (Middletown, Conn., 1962).
53. See Isabel Grubb, The Quakers in Ireland (London, 1927). R. D. Webb commented intriguingly to Maria Weston Chapman: "Quakers are professedly orthodox, on both sides of the Irish sea - but in England there is a strong tendency to high evangelical views - to Gurneyism. In Ireland, they are mostly Hicksites, without knowing or suspecting it." (Taylor, p. 168).
54. Mary Howitt, journal entry for May, 1837, in Mary Howitt: An Autobiography, edited by Margaret Howitt (1889), 2 vols.
55. See particularly Lewis Perry, Radical Abolitionism : Anarchy and the Government of God in Anti-Slavery Thought (New York, 1973).
56. Some of the Irish Friend group did, however, move away from orthodoxy, and eventually indeed from Friends: for example, Mary and William Howitt, R. D. Webb and Elizabeth Pease. See Obituary of R. D. Webb in Estlin Papers, Dr Williams Library; Mary Howitt: An Autobiography; [Anna M. Stoddart], Elizabeth Pease Nichol; Taylor: Temperley.
57. Irish Friend, III (August, 1840), no. 9.
58. Irish Friend, IV (January, 1841), no. 1. This was from "XYZ" of Dublin, a regular travelling correspondent for the paper on philanthropic and campaigning matters. He may have been Richard Allen, Quaker wholesale draper and member of the Dublin radical group which formed the basis for the Hibernian Anti-Slavery and Temperance Societies. The anti-evangelical stance of this group is well conveyed in H. M. Wigham's Memoir of Richard Allen (1886), and in their correspondence with U. S. Garrisonites: see Taylor.
59. The only reference to Dublin Yearly Meeting that I have been able to detect was in May, 1842.
60. O'Connell was particularly closely involved with the British India Society - see below. Again, the correspondence of R. D. Webb in particular, some of which is reproduced in Taylor, gives the flavour of the Dublin radical Friends' cynical but not unsympathetic view of the "Liberator" and the Irish cause: see, for example, Taylor, pp. 168-9. The group had close contacts with and access to the Dublin Weekly Herald, which conveys much of the political flavour of this close-knit and active group.
61. Lisburn, Moyallon and Lurgan were far more important centres for Quakerism in the North of Ireland than Belfast. Ulster QM was not held in Belfast until 1838: Canter, "The Irish Friend"; Grubb, Quakers in Ireland.
62. Irish Friend, III (January, 1840), No. I.
63. Temperley, ch. 4.

64. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter was launched in January, 1840, following the close-down of the Central Negro Emancipation Committee's paper, The British Emancipator. The Reporter was effectively edited by the Rev. J. H. Hinton, the previous editor of the Emancipator, according to Professor Temperley.
65. See Temperley, British AntiSlavery. His analysis indicates how the BFASS was run by the London Committee, just under half of whom were Friends throughout the mid century, with its "hard core" of activists still more Quaker-dominated. His account also indicates how old parliamentary and philanthropic allies of the "gradualist" and Philanthropist days were drawn in by Sturge: figures such as Stephen Lushington, and Buxton, for example. See also Tyrell, Joseph Sturge, Ch. viii, which presents the BFASS as rather more anti-establishment.
66. Lindfield Reporter, III (July, 1840), No. 19. However, it should be noted that Allen took over a year to acknowledge the existence of the new organisation.
67. Irish Friend, II (May, 1839), No. 5: report of "XYZ". However, Jacob Post, London Agent for the paper and a key correspondent was also on the BFASS Committee.
68. See Temperley, British AntiSlavery, for the BFASS wooing of the auxiliaries. See the early numbers of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter - for example, I. Nos. 1 and 6 - for the special appeals made to women. For the "polite decline" of the Irish Friend group, see for example, the 5th Annual Report of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.
69. See, for example, Standish Motte's "Outline of a System of Legislation for securing Protection to the Aboriginal Inhabitants of all Countries colonized by Great Britain", published by the Aborigines Protection Society in 1840: "The rapidly extending political and commercial relations of Britain ... render it the paramount duty of people and government ... to be careful that in grasping the commerce of the earth we do not defraud ... despoil ... demoralize, ruin and exterminate ... but so to combine and guide intelligence, enterprise and capital as to direct them to their legitimate end; political and commercial reciprocity, and the diffusion of religion, knowledge and civilization, among the heathen nations of the earth."
70. The APS Committee in 1837, for example, included Allen, Samuel Gurney jnr, Stephen Lushington MP, Edward Baines MP as well as Joseph Pease, plus BFASS secretary J. Tredgold as one of its secretaries. By 1839 William Howitt had been awarded honorary membership, but so had American Colonisation Society "rightwingers", Elliot Cresson and the and the Rev. R.R. Gurley!
71. See, for example, Glasgow Emancipation Society minutes for 6th September, 1838, indicating general support, and evidence of Thompson's particular targeting from the APS of Edinburgh and Newcastle, in addition to Glasgow, etc.: Glasgow Emancipation Society collection, MSS, Mitchell Library, Glasgow.
72. Aborigines Protection Society, 2nd Annual Report, 1839; Lindfield Reporter, III (August, 1839, No. 8; Irish Friend, II (August, 1839), No.

8. See also, Bell, British Folks and British India; [Stoddart] , Elizabeth Pease Nichol and Temperley, British AntiSlavery, ch. 5. William Howitt's Colonization and Christianity was reviewed at length in both the Lindfield Reporter and the Irish Friend.

73. "XYZ" writing in The Irish Friend in March, 1840, for example, denied that there was any desire by the BIS to "secede" or harm the APS: rather, there was a need to establish a specific society to focus on India.

74. The South Durham British India Society's Committee was almost entirely, if not entirely, Quaker, and included the key managers and foremen of the Backhouse and Pease enterprises, as well as that elite. The BIS Provisional Committee of 1839 also had strong Quaker representation, but Friends were not in the majority. It included Brougham, for example, and Sir Culling Eardley Smith: Brougham chaired the inaugural meeting in London: Irish Friend, II (August, 1839), no. 8. See also, printed circular of South Durham British India Society, Darlington, May, 1842; see also Hyslop Bell ; The Lindfield Reporter, III (August, 1839) No. 8. - The Reporter, indeed, gave quite substantial space to the formation of the BIS. See also Temperley, British AntiSlavery.

75. Irish Friend, (November, 1839), No. 11. For Elizabeth Pease and George Thompson's promotion of the BIS among Liberator circles, see, for example, The Liberator, March, 1840, also correspondence in Taylor. For more on BIS policy, see The British India Advocate, begun January, 1841; also William Howitt's "A Serious Address to the Members of the Anti-Slavery Society For and in Behalf of the Advocates of the Free Labour of British India, as the Grand Means of the Extinction of Slavery", (1843). Daniel O'Connell drew attention to the identity of purpose between the BIS and Anti-Corn Law League in his "Letter ... to Joseph Pease, snr, on the Subject of the Stresses, Famines, and c., of British India, and their Remedies", printed and circulated by the BIS, 1841. At this point, the League was making overtures to the BIS to become incorporated with it, and George Thompson had begun lecturing for the ACLL in the Spring of 1841: Taylor, particularly pp. 154-169.

76. Elizabeth Pease to Maria Weston Chapman, 11.7.1839, Taylor, p. 73; Maria Weston Chapman to Elizabeth Pease, 20.8.1839, Taylor, p. 82; Ann and Wendell Phillips to Maria Weston Chapman, 30.7.1839, Taylor, pp. 76-78. The Taylor collection is extremely illuminating of the British Garrisonites' reflection of, and response to, the schism. See also Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld and Sarah Grimké, 1822-44, edited by G. H. Barnes and D. L. Dumond (New York, 1934).

77. Elizabeth Pease's particular correspondents on the Quaker anti-slavery troubles were Bassett himself, Philadelphia Friends Abby Kimber and Sarah Pugh, and Sarah Grimké who, with her sister Angelina, had been highly active in Garisonite and feminist circles in New England, until Angelina's marriage to evangelical anti-slavery leader, Theodore Weld. See Taylor, and Weld and Grimké Letters, op. cit. For U.S. Quakerism and the anti-slavery disputes, see: E. B. Chace, "My AntiSlavery Reminiscences", in Two Quaker Sisters, ed. M. R. Lovell (New York 1937); W. Edgerton, a History of the Separation in Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends (1856); W. Hodgson, The Society of Friends in the Nineteenth Century: a Historical View of the Successive Convulsions ... vol. II (1876); Parker Pillsbury, Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles (1883) Elizabeth Pease, The Society of

Friends in the United States : their views of the Anti-slavery Quakers (Darlington, 1840); H. Richardson, Memoirs of Joseph Sturge (1865); Joseph Sturge, A Visit to the United States (1841). For the major developments within Indiana Yearly Meeting and their impact on British Friends in the 1840s, see the following chapter. For wider accounts, see Thomas E. Drake, Quakers and Slavery in America (Gloucester, Mass., 1965), and Rufus M. Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism, II.

78. Pillsbury, Acts of the Anti-slavery Apostles, pp. 156-7. See also Garrison's "Declaration of Sentiments of the American Anti-slavery Society" 1833, The Liberator and Garrisonite correspondence. For an exploration of Garrisonite politics and ideology, see L. Perry, "Radical Abolitionism: Anarchy and the Government of God in Anti-Slavery Thought" (New York, 1973), and L. Perry and M. Fellman, eds., Anti-slavery Reconsidered: New Perspectives on Abolitionists (Louisiana, 1979).

79. Elizabeth Pease' "Introduction" to her pamphlet referred obliquely to Joseph John Gurney and his visit to the U.S. in 1838/9 where his evangelicalism roused resentment among Quietist Friends, and his criticisms of Garrisonite radicalism provoked still stronger reaction from Garrison's circle. "Although he was a flaming abolitionist in England", Garrison railed, "he has scarcely opened his lips since his arrival on the subject of slavery ..." - quoted in David E. Swift, Joseph John Gurney p. 212. See also Gurney to William Forster, Philadelphia, 11.11.39, re his reception by Friends: Gurney MSS, Norfolk and Norwich Record Office. Also J. B. Braithwaite, Memoirs of J. J. Gurney (1854), II. p. 132.

80. Irish Friend, III (June, 1840), No. 7: Bell was citing the London Christian Advocate of June, 1837, which gave an account of Sturge's remarks at the Yearly Meeting. See also Richardson's Memoir of Joseph Sturge.

81. Irish Friend, III (April, 1840), No. 4.

82. The March 20th issue of The Liberator - vol. X, No. 12 - carried a resolution passed at the Quarterly Meeting of the Essex County Anti-slavery Society:

Resolved, That the Society of Friends, by shutting its meeting-houses against the advocates of the slave - and by its unchristian attempt to restrain the freedom of its members as are abolitionists - has forfeited all claims to be regarded as an anti-slavery society, and practically identified itself with the corrupt pro-slavery sects of the land.

On March 27th and April 3rd, the paper continued the assault by reporting in full the speeches of Edmund Quincy and Garrison in support of the motion, attacking the Society of Friends.

83. Irish Friend, III (April, 1840), No. 4. Garrison's own words were quoted in the April 3rd number of The Liberator: "There is ... in my opinion, a great deal of priestcraft in that body ... Woe to those souls who dissent from the powers that be! ... I can only compare the Society of Friends to a great tortoise basking in the sun, which, once a year, puts out its head, by way of testifying that it has got a head ... Its members have made capital stock of the merits of their ancestors, and like others who have

not earned their capital, they have become spendthrifts." For Garrison's former links with Quakerism, see Drake and Perry.

84. Irish Friend, III (May, 1840), No. 5. A long letter from William Smeal, Secretary of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, was published in the same number, supporting Pease's pamphlet and confirming its accusations. Bell also responded passionately to the one critical letter published - from Samuel Stansfield of Liverpool - which singled out Garrisonite Non-Resistance principles as grounds for dissociation from the American Anti-lavery Society. Bell defended the U.S. Non-Resistance Society as directly in line with Quaker tradition

85. Irish Friend, III (June, 1840), No. 7; London Yearly Meeting Minutes and Epistles for 1840; Meeting for Sufferings Minutes, June, 1840. The Epistles Sub-Committee included George Stacey, Clerk to the Yearly Meeting, Josiah Forster, former Clerk, A. R. Barclay - but also, interestingly, William Smeal.

86. See James Mott, Three Months in Great Britain (1841) and Frederick Tolles, ed., Anti-Slavery and the Woman Question: Lucretia Mott's Diary, 1840 (London, 1925). Also The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter - the numbers for spring, 1840, give information on the preparations for the Convention, and the June 17th number gives full delegate lists.

The original BFASS invitation to the Convention - October, 1839 - was not "gender specific"; it was subsequently modified to exclude women delegates in February: see Tolles.

It is tempting to assume that the U.S. Quaker anti-slavery divisions coincided with theological divides. As the next chapter indicates, those alignments interlocked and overlapped but, as Drake makes clear, Hicksite Friends were also divided into "conservatives" and "liberals" on the anti-slavery issue.

87. James Webb's contribution to the general accounts of the Irish delegation, dated June, 1840: Taylor, p. 96.

88. Quoted in the BFAS Reporter, I (June 17th), No. 13.

89. Anne Knight to the Boston American Anti-Slavery Society, quoted in the 6th Annual Report of the Glasgow Emancipation Society. A similar letter from her was also printed in The Liberator, X (Oct. 30, 1840), No. 44. Mary Howitt wrote on similar lines to Lucretia Mott: Liberator, X (August 28, 1840), No. 35.

90. See the Garrisonite correspondence re the Convention: Taylor, op. cit. Also the Motts' accounts; Harriet Martineau, Autobiography (1877), II; Mary Howitt: An Autobiography, ed. Margaret Howitt, I (1889).

91. Thompson's speech was reported in the BFAS Reporter for June 17th. Thompson spoke of the need for the churches "to quit the world of abstractions, and come to the world of everyday life ... Let them stigmatize as unchristian the act of slaveholding, bearing with them, like thunderbolts from the clouds in which they had so long dwelt, those principles which smite the enemies of the rights of man." However, George Thompson did not emerge well from the Convention and its aftermath in the eyes of the US Garrisonites, in particular, having failed to put himself on the line over the seating of the women delegates - see Taylor.

92. Lucretia Mott to Maria Weston Chapman, Dublin, July 29th, 1840: Taylor, pp. 103-4.

93. Liberator, X (August 28th, 1840), No. 35.

94. Such enthusiasm exudes from the correspondence - Maria Waring, one of the Irish party, wrote: "They are a glorious crew. William Lloyd Garrison is one of God's nobility." - Taylor, p. 97. Anne Knight and Elizabeth Pease met their Boston women correspondents for the first time.

95. For the Garrisonite account of the battle, see the Taylor collection of correspondence. For the BFASS side, see A. H. Abel and F. J. Klingberg, eds., A Side Light on Anglo-American Relations (Lancaster, Penn., 1927); The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter: Temperley. The bitterness of this period also emerges in the papers of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, Sturge objecting to finding himself still an "Honorary Corresponding member" of the Society in 1840 when the GES had acted in so "unfriendly" a manner towards an anti-slavery body: "Resolutions ... Correspondence ... and Minute of the Committee, "printed pamphlet of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, 1841; GES Minutes, 1840/41, GES MSS Collection, Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

96. See Abel and Klingberg, op. cit.

97. Indeed, The Irish Friend for 1840 and 1841 needs to be read beside The Liberator for its precise viewpoint and the full transatlantic context to be properly understood.

98. Irish Friend, III (October, 1840), No. 11, and Irish Friend, III (December, 1840), No. 13.

99. Bernard Canter, "The Irish Friend".

100. See also The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter which carried a clear denunciation of the American Colonisation Society as early as September, 1840. While The Lindfield Reporter was warm for Buxton, it also came out against the Colonisation Society in March, 1841. There was clear division within the BFASS hierarchy over the Niger project, such "old guard" Friends as Allen and Samuel Gurney supporting Buxton.

101. See Temperley. Again, the BFASS leadership was split on this issue.

102. The "Open Letter" was published simultaneously in the BFAS Reporter. For the Indiana crisis, see the following chapter.

103. Irish Friend, IV (August, 1841). No. 8.

104. For example, the January, February and March numbers of The Irish Friend. The February and March numbers considerably expanded the debate on the issue of Quaker involvement in the free trade campaign.

105. The Irish Friend's successor, The British Friend, was to support Miall's Anti-State Church Movement. The implications of Chartism were particularly raised among UK radicals by The Liberator and the Boston Garrisonites: see Taylor correspondence.

106.Canter, "The Irish Friend". Bell went to New York, subsequently to Ohio, then Richmond, Indiana, about 1850, where he maintained his abolitionist stance in continued "opposition to the more conservative members of our Society". - William Baxter, obituary notice of William Bell The British Friend, April, 1871, quoted in Canter.

107.William Allen bowed out with a graceful note: "The Editor has now completed the eighth year of his little periodical, and though the state of his health, and the effects of his advancing years seem to release him from this field of labour, he sincerely desires that the subjects which he has brought forward, and the principles which he has endeavoured to advocate, may claim the attention of his younger friends ..." - Lindfield Reporter, IV (December, 1842), No. 23.

108.Both papers were launched within days of one another, in mid-February, 1843: see following chapter.

V : The Assault on Quaker Whiggery, II:

The British Friend versus The Friend

The establishment of two rival newspapers, both claiming to serve the Quaker community, changed the internal politics of the Society markedly. The British Friend, published from Glasgow, and The Friend, from London, were launched within days of one another, their first issues appearing in mid-February, 1843.¹

It was clear to all that The Friend would be representing the views of the London Yearly Meeting establishment. Its proprietors were indeed that establishment's cream: George Stacey, Yearly Meeting Clerk; John Hodgkin, Assistant Clerk, Josiah Forster, leading Yearly Meeting elder statesman and, with Stacey, dominant in the Meeting for Sufferings.² Familiar and leading figures in the evangelical philanthropic network - British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, British and Foreign School Society, British and Foreign Bible Society - they belonged to, and inherited, the Gurneyite tradition of theology and Whig "progressive" politics so effectively developed in the days of the Prison Discipline Society. With a tame editor, Charles Tylor, at the ready, The Friend had all the authority and weight of a "semi-official" organ, so securely was it - as critics were not slow to point out - in the pockets of "certain Friends about the Table" of Yearly Meeting.³

The advance circular subtly conveyed the tone of authority which The Friend would adopt. Stressing the importance of its publication from London as the centre of Quaker power and philanthropy, the circular mentioned The Irish Friend only to note that its passing had conveniently

made space for a fresh publication, "without injury to existing interests." But a direct hit was made at the Belfast paper and its successor when it was claimed that this publication would confine itself to "accurate" and "early information of the proceedings of the Body", and would totally avoid controversy.⁴ As the opening editorial stressed, The Friend would "impart information" on a select group of approved evangelical causes and philanthropic organisations, but would not become embroiled in the hurly burly, or minutiae, of procedure and tactics. Party politics - meaning Liberal politics - would be ruled out, and the emphasis would always be on moderation, harmony and unity.⁵

The first editorial also mentioned the highly convenient and obliging retirement of William Allen from the rigours of amateur journalism in December, 1842. The last number of The Lindfield Reporter had passed its concerns on to "younger Friends", and The Friend duly promised to carry on the coverage of the Reporter.⁶

The new paper would carry Quaker evangelicalism forward, strive to ensure its continued influence as the Gurneyite generation passed on. Its rhetoric was blandly evangelical, its emphasis ecumenical, respectful of State and Church rather than Nonconformist, as its coupling of quotations from Penn and Cowper on its title page carefully illustrated.

It was again characteristic of The Friend's air of calm authority that it did not stoop to mention the launch of its rival, The British Friend, which claimed to be first in the field.⁷ In contrast to The Friend's covert sponsorship by a Yearly Meeting and Sufferings "cabal", the Glasgow paper took great pride in its provincial independence of Quaker

"government" interference and "gagging".

The British Friend's proprietors and editors were Robert and William Smeal, prosperous Glasgow grocers. William Smeal had, of course, been a frequent correspondent of The Irish Friend, and was secretary of the Garrisonite Glasgow Emancipation Society. Together with their sister Jane, secretary of the Glasgow Ladies' Auxiliary and fellow-Friend, John Murray, the British Friend editors were highly active in Liberal Glasgow circles: in the Anti-Corn Law movement, in the teetotal movement, and in the more radical wing of the Peace movement. Members of the tiny but tightly interlinked Scottish Quaker community, concentrated in Glasgow and Edinburgh, they would also spearhead the campaign in the mid-1840s against the Free Church of Scotland's acceptance of "slavery-tainted" money from the American churches.⁸

The Smeals adopted the goodwill, residual editorial material and agency network of The Irish Friend, receiving the blessing of William Bell's relatives on the one hand,⁹ and William Lloyd Garrison on the other. While regretting the passing of the "most excellent" Irish Friend, The Liberator graced the new paper with the most lofty of eulogies:

The name of WILLIAM SMEAL is familiar to the abolitionists of the United States, as he has long been the indomitable, unwearied and courageous friend of negro emancipation universally and (in connexion with the equally devoted and fearless JOHN MURRAY) the soul of the Scottish anti-slavery movement ... It will doubtless be one of the most useful publications on the other side of the Atlantic ...¹⁰

The British Friend underlined its inheritance by taking over The Irish Friend's original statement of editorial policy, which had appeared in its

first number back in November, 1837. But, the editors made clear in a new addition to that statement, they intended to build on the freedoms which its predecessor had fought for and won over its five-year life. The British Friend would be "unconnected with the Society of Friends, in its official capacity ... the Editors alone are responsible for any opinions that may be advanced in the progress of its publication."¹¹ Like The Irish Friend, the new paper promised to defend the Quietist traditions of Quakerism against the subtle corruptions of an oligarchical evangelicalism and, like it, combined the phrases of prophecy and doom reminiscent of earlier ministry with an emphasis on individual conscience and the Society's history of rebellion. Quietistic jeremiads cross-fertilised with Garrisonite rhetoric, as articles in The Irish Friend had done. But The British Friend's outlook now also paralleled the language and values of Edward Miall's Nonconformist, for which it was to develop an increasingly friendly and respectful regard.

By April, 1843, the two rival papers had settled into a regular publishing routine, The Friend appearing in the first week of the month, The British Friend the last. Though their relative success in capturing the Quaker market is difficult to assess, The British Friend's distribution network was undoubtedly the more extensive, building on The Irish Friend's, with 105 agents by the end of 1843 (91 of these in England and Wales), compared with only 70 for The Friend (60 in England and Wales). At the end of the first year, the establishment Friend seemed to admit to a lack of popularity and "pecuniary success" which a contributor put down to its dullness and "lack of spirit". The British Friend, on the other hand, was by then claiming itself to be an ebullient and successful campaign newspaper, having achieved a rise in circulation of some 50%.¹²

A burning issue immediately adopted by The British Friend was the Anti-Corn Law movement, and the difference in approach to the League between the two rival papers provides a useful gauge of their political positions. The British Friend, for its part, inherited the high moral rhetoric which the British India Society had developed around the Free Trade issue. John Bright's use of The Irish Friend's columns to appeal for Quaker support for the League during 1842 reflected and was part of the movement's drive at this period to attract Dissenting and, indeed Quaker support, and to elevate the campaign to a moral cause akin to anti-slavery.¹³ The British Friend took up that drive wholeheartedly, linking the attack on Corn Law "monopoly" constantly back to pressing current problems of "distress in manufacturing districts", and eulogising the League's campaign as being conducted with a "zeal and energy, equal to those which distinguished the struggle for the Extinction of Slavery."¹⁴ When criticised by some readers for such unabashed involvement in politics, the paper confidently cited Quaker history:

... since the example of George Fox, down to the present day, Friends have been actively concerned in matters bearing upon politics quite as much as the Corn Law issue, in which many valued Members of the Body are now laudably engaged.¹⁵

But quite as significant a measure of The British Friend's political stance was the almost total absence of any coverage of the still-active Complete Suffrage movement. This was despite Joseph Sturge's lively - though often uneasy - relationship with the paper, and its increasing friendliness to the CSU's "paper", The Nonconformist. The "hype" given to the League eloquently expressed The British Friend's emphatically bourgeois class-assertiveness, stripped of any of the language of "conciliation" and "partnership" with the working classes which had characterised The

Nonconformist during the better days of the CSU, only the previous year.¹⁶

The Smeal brothers do not appear to have been involved in the Scottish Complete Suffrage movement, but in a sense, too, The British Friend's omission and emphasis suited the current "Liberal-Nonconformist" mood.

The aftermath of the Plug Plots and the disastrous Complete Suffrage conference of December, 1842, had effectively marked an end to the "rapprochement" strategy of some elements of bourgeois radicalism for the present, leaving the field clear for more unashamedly bourgeois causes. The British Friend's platform very much appears to reflect that shift in gear, and the fundamental and symbolic ascendancy of the League over Chartism by 1843.

The Friend, on the other hand, scrupulously avoided giving any space or publicity to the Anti-Corn Law League on the grounds of "no politics". Its aloofness signified no such thing, of course - indeed, prominent members of its circle, such as J. J. Gurney himself, were supporters of the League. Rather, it signalled its commitment to the continued strategy of loyalty to Whiggery, and a determined opposition to the Liberal "independence" movement which had gained particular confidence following the 1841 election. It was entirely consistent with the line leading London Friends had already taken when overtures had been made by the League.¹⁷ Hardly different in their class interests, the contrasting stances of the two papers and the groups they represented above all marked a very different view of the political strategy and alliances most appropriate to the interests of Quakers, and of the Quaker business community.

The two papers also took up very different positions with regard to "Dissenting politics", which had become a live issue for Whig-Liberal

Friends in a series of local contests around the Church Rates issue in the 1830s. John Bright, for example, had cut his political teeth around such a confrontation in Rochdale;¹⁸ the Peases and Backhouses used their employer strength in alliance with other powerful Dissenters in a bloody contest in Darlington in 1837.¹⁹ But by 1843, the issues centreing around the Established Church's position vis a vis the State on the one hand, and the growing strength of Nonconformity on the other, were being put on the national political agenda by the Liberal Nonconformist lobby. Such issues as the education clauses of the 1843 Factory Act, the Anti-State Church movement, responses to the Maynooth grant, were constant tests of political allegiance and outlook, for all Nonconformists, Quakers not excepted.²⁰

To a limited extent, The Friend and its backers were involved in the crucial Dissenting issues of 1843-4. Meeting for Sufferings sent deputations to Government ministers on the issue of Anglican privilege and workhouse chaplaincies and, more vitally, concerning the education clauses of the 1843 Factory Bill. But for The Friend, the latter issue related directly to the work its proprietors and key supporters had invested in the development of the British and Foreign School Society. The measure was "sectarian", and undermined the proper "scriptural education of the labouring classes".²¹

For The British Friend, this was a wider issue of civil and religious liberty. Friends, with their history of struggle for religious freedom, should work with other sects in a united Dissenting front against this unholy and oligarchical alliance of Church and State. Correspondent "B" - attacking The Friend's cautiousness - really summed up The British Friend's burgeoning line when he claimed that there was "common ground" on which the

"non-conforming community at large" were required to "withstand the progress" of the education clauses.²² The Leeds Mercury, Edward Baines himself, were quoted by the Smeals in support of the development of a decidedly Nonconformist brand of Quaker opposition to Graham's Bill: a campaign white hot with the crusading principles of free-trade voluntarism, quite different from the cautious and circumspect rhetoric of The Friend.

Earnest in its evangelicalism, The Friend nursed a growing mistrust of Puseyite influence within the Church of England, and would oppose the Maynooth grant - quietly enough - primarily on anti-Catholic grounds. For The British Friend, however, the Papacy was likened to class ascendancy, and Puseyism was symptomatic of priestcraft and church power. Its opposition to the grant took the ground of Dissent's rejection of all links between Church and civil power.

The British Friend's sympathies and identification with Edward Miall's brand of Nonconformist Liberalism first emerged clearly in its thoroughly approving review of the Nonconformist Sketchbook in September, 1843. With Miall's ringing statement, "'Come out and be separate'", the Garrisonite Smeals were on familiar ground, his rhetoric striking a particular chord at a period of renewed internal Quaker conflict over U.S. anti-slavery. Late 1843 saw a build-up of articles, editorials and correspondence advocating Quaker support for the Nonconformist cause, The British Friend's November leader heralding the Leicester Anti-State Church meeting with a passionate attack on Church Establishment, and a rallying call to Friends - support which was acknowledged in The Nonconformist.²³

In its January issue, The British Friend warmly welcomed the emergence

of the Anti-State Church movement, and looked forward to the inaugural convention of the Association in April. Both papers indeed carried advertisements for the Convention, but, in its April number, The Friend dismissed those of its correspondents who were critical of its caution, and openly proclaimed its distaste for the new movement. The Society of Friends was, the paper argued, itself an "Anti-State Church Association", the only pure and thorough-going one. Evangelical conversion was the only cure for corruption, and the work of the Lord must be waited for. It was for other Dissenters to step on to the firm ground of pure Quakerism, not vice versa. The Friend's May edition, appearing just after the Convention and just before London Yearly Meeting, carried no notice or report of the Anti-State Church Association launch whatsoever.

Basking in the generally warm glow of supportive correspondence, The British Friend on the other hand carried a full and very positive report of the Convention - attended by a number of Friends - in its May 31st number.²⁴ The event had, it said, been one of the "'great facts' of the present age". The speeches of both Miall and his friend and ally Joseph Sturge, were reported at length, the paper pointedly defending Sturge's political commitment.

The 1844 London Yearly Meeting was indeed framed by the Anti-State Church issue, and by the two papers' rival and representative stances. Discussion was raised most directly in the session answering the Queries, the 8th Query seeking faithfulness to Friends' ancient testimony against the payment of tithes and church-rates. The emphatic conservatism of the Quaker establishment in response to the issue emerges in the reports of both papers. Friends were told "not to allow themselves to be led away by

those of other bodies who had been very active of late", endeavouring to "disseminate what were termed the principles of Voluntarism". Those other bodies might lure Friends to their cause by appearing to share Quaker principles, but "they fell very far short of them in practice", employing as they did, "in their own congregations", a single individual, at a fixed stipend, to perform ... Divine Worship."²⁵ One thing at a time, was the unabashed British Friend's comment on this. Separation between Church and State was the key issue on the radical Dissenting agenda at present - there would be later opportunities for Friends to press the purist line.

The British Friend carried the "Nonconformist" flag right into the heart of Quakerism in bitter internal dispute which emerged in 1845, of theological and political import only to Friends. Quietism - redrafted in the mould of a Foxite Nonconformity - was for the Smeals an intrinsic element of Quaker radicalism, pitted against the prevailing and ascendant orthodoxy of Gurneyite evangelicalism. They understood their mission as the radical defence of historic principles, and theological rebellion gave The British Friend yet another stick with which to beat the London hierarchy, and The Friend, even though it must have divided their readership.

Dissent emerged more generally around evangelical moves to overhaul and demote Robert Barclay's highly academic and Quietist Apology from Quaker sanctity, The British Friend publishing a number of pieces defending Barclay, vigorously attacking evangelical works, including Gurney's current Thoughts on Habit and Discipline. But allegiances hardened, as so often, around an American schism. Centreing on New England Friend, John Wilbur, the schism had particular repercussions for British Quakerism because the

writings and influence of Joseph John Gurney were at the heart of the row. Wilbur had long been for both older and younger generation British Quietists what the evangelical American Stephen Grellett had been to the Fry-Gurney group, publishing virulent accusations against "Gurneyism" through the 1830s. After many years of bitter conflict within the New England Yearly Meeting, Wilbur and his followers were finally disowned for insubordination in the summer of 1845, departing to found a new, "true body" of New England Yearly Meeting.²⁶ A challenge was now presented, particularly to British Friends, as to which body to support.

The majority of American Yearly Meetings, still mindful of the horrors of the Hicksite schism, supported the New England establishment, and this was predictably the line of The Friend group. It was not even a doctrinal matter, patiently explained the editor, but an issue of church authority, in which the forces of "soundness" must stand firm and stand together against the evil sowers of "dissent".²⁷

Just as predictably, The British Friend supported the rebels, but attempted to widen the issue into a battle both over what was the authentic Quaker legacy, and individual freedom. Wilbur's cause was, the Smeals proclaimed, one of civil liberty, rooted firmly in Quaker's ancient defence of the right and duty to forge a theology of the heart, rather than subscribing to a creed dictated by church authority. And because the Wilburites' lines of communication to the wider Quaker community were stifled by the transatlantic collusion of the authorities, The British Friend could also lay claim to striking another blow for press freedom, publishing documents from both sides of the dispute. Then, too, the anti-slavery cause was also at stake in the paper's view and those of its

inner circle of supporters, the Garrisonite anti-slavery groups. Gurney's visit to the U.S. in 1838/9 had brought him notoriety not only among Wilburites, but among anti-slavery radicals. The conservative stand of the Gurneyite London Yearly Meeting establishment in relation to American Quaker apathy on the anti-slavery issue seemed to confirm the Garrisonite view - Sturge and company, notwithstanding - that evangelicalism was endemically pro-slavery". Thus, The British Friend could wholeheartedly adopt Nonconformist and Liberator-style fighting rhetoric on the New England issue. "Mere agreement" for its own sake was not worth the candle, when unity was to be obtained by "hushing the conscience". "A truce patched up for an occasion" was likely to "terminate in a still bitterer war", it warned, darkly. Confrontation should be welcomed where the cause was just.²⁸

However, it was anti-slavery itself which, as for The Irish Friend before it, really fed The British Friend's brand of bourgeois radicalism, and the assault on London Quaker Whiggery. Once again, it was the repercussions of American anti-slavery controversy which set the British Quaker agenda, but made still more pertinent and painful for Friends by the fact that this time the American anti-slavery split was within the Quaker organisation itself. The reverberations of the Indiana Yearly Meeting anti-slavery schism which took place early in 1843, were to frame, inform, confirm and shape the editorial stance of each rival Quaker British paper during the mid-40s, as The British Friend mounted its attack on the commanding heights represented by The Friend.

The Indiana split shared much with the less dramatic eruptions - such as the Bassett case - in New England, Philadelphia, New York and other

Yearly Meetings - over anti-slavery immediatism: disturbances fed by Garrisonite "come-outerism". Strong anti-slavery and anti-Colonisation Society opinion had been influential within Indiana Yearly Meeting from the mid-1830s, and Friends were active in anti-slavery journalism and campaigning, as well as the underground railroad. Some areas of strong Quaker presence within the state, such as Mount Pleasant and Newport, had become particularly well-known for their radical anti-slavery sentiment, as Garrisonism hit the state in the mid-1830s. By 1836, anti-slavery immediatism was visibly in the ascendant in the Yearly Meeting epistles, and on the attack against conservative Quaker elements. Led by respected elders Daniel Plackett and Charles Osborne, who earnestly paralleled Quaker laxity in the anti-slavery cause with the "leprosy" of Gurneyite evangelicalism,²⁹ anti-slavery radicals achieved a numerical advantage and prestige within Indiana Yearly Meeting which they could not acquire in New England or Massachusetts where, like William Bassett, they suffered only heroic martyrdom.

When the American Anti-Slavery Society split into Garrisonite and evangelical wings, the Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society in which Quaker immediatists were active stayed loyal to the "old organisation". Quaker Arnold Buffum, agent for the Garrisonite American Anti-Slavery Society, now settled in the state to consolidate and develop the movement, following his disownment from New England Yearly Meeting for anti-slavery rabble-rousing, alongside Bassett and Abby Kelly. His arrival kindled suspicion and alarm among the rump of more conservative Friends, who complained bitterly of his "seditious" activities, constantly "preaching and lecturing among Friends, sometimes in their meetings for Divine worship ... urging them to form themselves into anti-slavery associations."³⁰

From that point, the tide turned, and reaction against anti-slavery radicalism gathered strength within the Quaker body. The immediatists managed to rebuff the conservatives at the Indiana Yearly Meeting of 1840, but by 1841, "gradualist" opinion was rallying. Conservatives complained that the Society of Friends had become a mere branch of the Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society, taken over in an atmosphere of "unsettlement" and "disaffection". In their view, anti-slavery Friends had become obsessed with their cause, rabid and unjust against Friends who, though most "decided and unwavering abolitionists", could not but "apprehend very disastrous result to the peace and harmony of religious Society", should such activity continue unchecked.³¹

In 1841, the radical clerk of the Indiana Women's Yearly Meeting was dismissed. No general meeting on the anti-slavery issue was permitted at Yearly Meeting, and a ban on the use of meeting houses for anti-slavery meetings was issued. Members were instructed by the Yearly Meeting to keep away from anti-slavery societies, and to shun all those "who do not profess to wait for Divine direction in such important causes."³² Eight radical representatives to the Indiana Meeting for Sufferings - including the Elder, Charles Osborn - were subsequently dismissed for disobeying this instruction and, the following year, Indiana Yearly Meeting appointed special visiting committees to root out rebellious and anarchistic tendencies within its constituent meetings.

Once again, the archetypal Garrisonite drama was being played out, as it had been within the American Anti-Slavery Society, in churches and meetings across the land, and at the 1840 World Anti-Slavery convention in London. Church "Government" was proving tyrannous, railroading individual

freedom and conscience. "Old organisation" - in this case, the "true" and "original" Society of Friends - was, in the view of the radicals, being replaced by a spurious hierarchy, totally subservient to State and Establishment. There was nothing left for the anti-slavery radicals but to "come out". Separation was finally embraced at a special anti-slavery Friends Convention meeting in February, 1843, when it was decided to "re-organize the Yearly Meeting of Indiana upon principles ... in unity with the practice of the Yearly Meetings of London and of Dublin."³³ The Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends was formed.

Both new and old Indiana Yearly Meetings now devoted themselves to a war of propaganda, targetting one another, uncommitted members, and other Yearly Meetings. But most particularly they directed their appeals to London Yearly Meeting, the mother body of the Society. London's decision as to which organisation to recognise would set an example to the rest of the Quaker world. On British Friends, therefore, depended the survival of one or other of the two bodies. In the view of immediatist Elder, Daniel Plackett, the sanction of the conservative Indiana Yearly Meeting by London would "do more to impede the progress of the present Anti-Slavery enterprise, than any other act which can be accomplished by any other Society in Christendom." He greatly feared the consequences of the "weight of London Yearly Meeting" being added to the highly influential conservative elements within American Quakerism.³⁴ Lobbying the different factions within British Quakerism and the British Quaker press was thus crucial for both parties.

The Irish Friend had naturally proved very receptive to the Indiana immediatists' cause, publishing full and alarming accounts of Indiana

Yearly Meeting's mounting vendetta against the anti-slavery activists during 1842. Coming to a head at the end of 1842, just before the launch of the two new papers, the Indiana crisis undoubtedly heightened The British Friend's opening editorial's emphasis on press freedom and opposition to tyrannous authority, while infusing extra significance to The Friend's devotion to sweet reason, harmony and unity.

The Friend was the first to break the news of the schism officially in its April number. It was thus able to influence and indeed pronounce the establishment line, before the crucial pre-London Yearly Meeting gathering of Meeting for Sufferings, and some six weeks before Yearly Meeting itself. The paper devoted a whole editorial to news and comment on the issue which, though circumspect and studiously "moderate" in tone, put the case solidly for the "main" Indiana body. Carefully explaining why so many U.S. Yearly Meetings had seen fit to warn their members against "uniting with political abolitionists", thus "endangering our peaceable principles", Tylor described with sorrow the secessionists' hasty rejection of the advice and cautions of their Yearly Meeting. Mistakes there undoubtedly had been on both sides, but the formation of the Anti-Slavery Yearly Meeting had been hasty and unwise, and was due to the impatience of the schismatics.³⁵

This partisan editorial brought immediate angry response: from New York Garrisonite, James Canning Fuller, then visiting Bristol, but more significantly, from Joseph Sturge, close co-worker with The Friend proprietors, of course, within the BFASS and Peace Society. Still more significantly, The Friend refused to publish either contribution, pushing Sturge - who had already identified himself with The Irish Friend's line on U.S. Quaker "apathy" - firmly into the arms of The British Friend. The

Smeal brothers published both letters in their April 31st number, which openly sought to counter the impact of The Friend's line on Yearly Meeting representatives.

Sturge wrote from his own observations of American Quakerism in 1841, and on the basis of close correspondence with non-Garrisonite anti-slavery Friends, such as John Greenleaf Whittier.³⁶ Though he abstained from judgment at this stage on the Indiana schism, he did not hesitate to castigate The Friend - "clothed" as it was with "somewhat of the influence of a semi-offical organ" - for its hasty and partial judgments, and its misrepresentations of the issues. In his view, the U.S. Yearly Meetings had generally acted, not merely to caution against unwise and hothead activities as The Friend had it, but "almost uniformly ... to repress and discourage Anti-slavery activity in any shape, within the Society."³⁷

The British Friend's editors also made their position clear, though documents from the Indiana Anti-Slavery Yearly Meeting had arrived too late for this number, making a special issue necessary if Yearly Meeting "delegates" were to be fully briefed. Better, "for the sake of the suffering millions", their editorial argued, that the separation had occurred, "than that the former state of inaction" within the Indiana body should continue. London Yearly Meeting, it hinted, must take some of the blame for these events, in any case, for failing to censure the inactivity of American Friends.³⁸

A potent sense of opposition indeed dominated this whole issue of The British Friend, with a lengthy piece exposing the colour prejudice of Philadelphia Friends; news of Garrisonite Non-Resister Henry C. Wright,

currently on a British lecture tour and already stirring the evangelical Quaker-dominated Peace Society with his instigation of provincial "anti-war" groups: and a review of Wright's A Kiss for a Blow. As in the spring of 1840, tensions heightened, allegiances hardened, in preparation for the Quaker conference "session": first London Yearly Meeting, then the second BFASS-organised World Anti-Slavery Convention, and then the Peace Society Convention.

In the event, The Friend managed to have the last word before Yearly Meeting assembled, The British Friend's special number getting to press only after the crucial session on Indiana. Despite its summary rejection of Sturge and Fuller's contributions, The Friend chose to admit one letter of opposition: from "C", who feared that by reading the paper, he might now be in "pro-slavery" company. This, of course, the editor feelingly denied, defending his already established position:

it has long been an acknowledged fact, that many friends in the U.S., who are nevertheless warmly in favour of the abolition of slavery, refrain, and we are bound to admit, conscientiously, from identifying themselves with the popular agitation of the question.³⁹

The 1843 London Yearly Meeting now began with a strong sense of deja vu: the degree of lobbying, the protagonists, and the imminence of the World Anti-Slavery Convention recalled the heady days of 1840. But there were clear differences. Then the repercussions of the Bassett case had not been part of the official Yearly Meeting agenda, and the whole proceedings had been dominated by, and looked forward to, the Garrisonite confrontation which was to take place in the Convention. Now the forthcoming Convention paled into insignificance besides the imminent drama of the Yearly

Meeting, particularly as most Garrisonite groups, British and American, were boycotting the BFASS affair. Political confrontation had moved right into the heart of Quaker organisation and, the intervention of Sturge had made clear, it was now not merely between a radical fringe and the main establishment, but between a powerful alliance of radical and liberal Friends, deeply unhappy at the ruling Quaker Whiggery. Moreover, the existence of a rival Quaker press, representative of these two factions, had ensured that for the first time, the Yearly Meeting's agenda was framed by a clear and open sense of debate and argument. The British Friend's pre-assembly "briefing" had most markedly implied that Yearly Meeting was, in reality, a decision-making conference, with participants who were voting delegates in all but name.

The conservatives had, however, too powerful a hold on the Yearly Meeting organisation for the opposition to win. Meeting for Sufferings - dominated by The Friend group and its allies - had, as the Yearly Meeting executive and pre-agenda caucus, done its homework effectively. Official word of the Indiana schism had arrived at Sufferings just prior to the start of Yearly Meeting, in the form of a letter from the main Indiana body, pre-empting communication from the seceders. Sufferings representatives had no difficulty in taking on board the letter's advice, that the separation had been entirely due to a "spirit of activity, self-confidence and insubordination". Armed with its evidence, they would go into the main assembly determined to carry out its plea that London Yearly Meeting should have no contact with the rebels.⁴⁰

As the Yearly Meeting representatives gathered, that pre-determined official line was, of course, being strenuously challenged in the back

rooms of Devonshire House. James Canning Fuller, attending as a visitor, had been commissioned to act as Indiana Anti-Slavery Yearly Meeting emissary by the rebel leaders, and was armed with all the key papers concerning the affair.⁴¹ Elizabeth Pease, down from Darlington for the Women's Yearly Meeting and the Anti-Slavery Convention, informed The Liberator that a report of the newly formed Indiana Yearly Meeting would be "extensively circulated" at the London Quaker assembly, so as to properly prime representatives for the forthcoming debate.⁴² Arnold Buffum, the Quaker American Anti-Slavery Society agent for Indiana, was also in London for the Anti-Slavery Convention, and hovered on the fringes of Yearly Meeting,⁴³ while the expected arrival of Charles Osborn himself - in the event, delayed by illness - produced a frisson of anticipation as to whether he would be seated.⁴⁴ The sense of occasion and the expectation of a painful row, must also have been heightened by the now quasi-official presence of representatives of the two rival newspapers, ready to record events for the wider Quaker community, and beyond.

The Indiana issue was dealt with in the session devoted to the receipt of epistles from other Yearly Meetings, when a sealed letter from the Indiana Anti-Slavery Yearly Meeting was laid on the table. Everything went smoothly according to the establishment plan. Passionate debate notwithstanding - "full and harmonious expression of opinion," The Friend called it⁴⁵ - the rebel epistle was returned unopened, since it would be a "departure from good order ... to read or accept the ... communication."⁴⁶ The deep feelings of the opposition could only be reflected in a minute which, it was decided, should accompany it, "expressive of the sympathy of the meeting, and its unfeigned regret at the painful events which had taken place amongst them."⁴⁷

The business of drawing up epistles to other Yearly Meetings sparked off further debate. Here, the liberals seem to have had some success in giving a more urgent edge to the bland evangelical rhetoric of the epistle to the main Indiana Yearly Meeting. Indiana Friends were exhorted to pursue the cause of the slave, "advocating their rights, having a single eye in so doing ... May no right opportunity be omitted to plead their cause, and to promote the immediate termination of this system of injustice and crime."⁴⁸

London Yearly Meeting's epistle to British Friends, however, was querulous and conservative in the extreme, codedly drawing the lessons of the Indiana rebels to the attention of British Quaker liberals. The sub-committee which prepared this General Epistle was dominated by The Friend and Sufferings set, and its meeting to prepare the document was thick with fury against "political excitement". "The political meetings of the day are a snare of the adversary and need a word of caution", wrote one of its elder participants, Josiah Forster, summarising the feeling of the meeting.⁴⁹ The result was an emphatically evangelical epistle which, recoiling from bourgeois separatist class aggression - Anti-Corn Law movement, immediatist anti-slavery, Anti-State Church movement, and so on - now aligned the elder statesmen of the Allen/Fry/Gurney group firmly with the status quo:

We have ever maintained that it is our duty to obey all the enactments of civil government, except those by which our allegiance to God is interfered with ... we desire ever to be found of those who are quiet in the land; a condition favourable to true Christian patriotism ...

Imitating the conservative rhetoric of the main Indiana Yearly Meeting, and

drawing on the Quietist phrases of a quite different tradition, the document cautioned Friends against over-involvement in philanthropic organisations which might tend to lead to overmuch "activity", "excitement", and "assimilation with the world". To add final insult to injury, nodding and highly complacent reference was made to the anti-slavery cause, and American Friends' role with regard to it.

Pleasure was expressed that "our dear friends in America ... are alive to this cause, and that they do, from time to time, avail themselves of suitable opportunities to plead for the oppressed, before their rulers."⁵⁰

The contrasts in the official documents issued from the 1843 Yearly Meeting suggest the strength of debate and the atmosphere of contention, despite the plain victory of the establishment. That atmosphere pervaded even the closing session which, the elderly and Whiggish Edward Pease complained to his diary, was still "marrd and clouded by some Friends whose spirit had not been leavened" away from some political cause or another.⁵¹ As a later commentator - William Hodgson - observed - London Yearly Meeting had been too "'wise in its own generation'" to cast away from its "communion the largest Yearly Meeting in the world ... for the sake of a small company who had separated from it, no matter for how grave a cause."⁵² The Friend group - the Quaker Whigs - had certainly won for the moment, but Arnold Buffum could write home with some truth that the rejection of the Indiana Anti-Slavery Friends' appeal by no means indicated "the true attitude of the Yearly Meeting."⁵³ The lobby by The British Friend and the alliance between Sturge-ite and Garrisonite liberals had at least ensured that London Yearly Meeting had considered and responded to the issue: no other Yearly Meeting was even to reply.⁵⁴

Moreover, there still remained the Quaker-dominated arenas of the Anti-Slavery and Peace Conventions in which the "opposition" could embarrass the Society's leadership. The British Friend thus continued to pursue its work of publicising the Indiana Anti-Slavery cause. Though too late for Yearly Meeting, it brought out a first "instalment" of rebel Indiana documents in good time for the Anti-Slavery Convention. Its May 31st number included both the "Declaration" of the new Indiana body, and the founding Newport Convention's Address to the Anti-Slavery Friends within the Limits of Indiana Yearly Meeting, with all their fiery lessons of rebellion against spurious unity and usurping authority.

Though it carried some echoes of the dramatic 1840 Convention, the 1843 BFASS-organised gathering was characterised by a more complex set of political tensions and groupings. As before, it was dominated by the Quaker evangelical "old guard": Samuel Gurney - "the wealthy banker, one of the merchant princes of London", as R. D. Webb had it⁵⁵ - chaired the Convention; current Yearly Meeting Clerk, George Stacey, and ex-Yearly Meeting Clerk, Josiah Forster, both Friend proprietors, were leading participants.⁵⁶ But now key BFASS Committee member Joseph Sturge and his allies were keenly at odds with their older colleagues over the American anti-slavery issue. Unlike 1840, the proceedings were boycotted by the Garrisonite American Anti-Slavery Society and also by the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society, the latter submitting a "full and fearless" protest on the exclusion of women.⁵⁷ But Quaker American Garrisonites Arnold Buffum and James Canning Fuller were among the delegates (Charles Osborn's illness preventing his attendance), while Hannah Webb, Elizabeth Pease and Henry C. Wright were among those occupying the "honourable negro pew" in the gallery. Probably over half the delegates were Friends.⁵⁸

The issue of American Quaker "pro-Slavery" activity first erupted in the session on the "Influence of Slavery upon Religion and Education in the Slave States." Here Buffum and Fuller attacked the colour prejudice which, they claimed, was rife in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting's procedures and which, they implied, was representative of the rest of the U.S. Society of Friends.⁵⁹ This had Friend proprietor Josiah Forster constantly on his feet, "continually on the alert, warding off sly attackers", as R. D. Webb commented.⁶⁰

In the ensuing session on "Conduct of the American Churches with Reference to Slavery", Joseph Sturge lent his full support to their complaints, feelingly voicing his conviction that the American Society "in its corporate capacity, could not be considered as advocating total and immediate emancipation":

... I was glad that our friends this morning spoke strongly, and if they spoke too strongly, I would say to the parties to whom they referred, 'show by your future conduct that the accusations were unjust.'

After all, he added,

the descendants of WILLIAM PENN, whose ancestors ... were able to be the instrument of clearing the Society of Friends from any contamination of slavery, are bound to do more than their fellow Christians.

Chairman Samuel Gurney, however, closed the matter firmly and irritably with the statement that, "I believe it is clearly understood, that throughout the U.S. there is no rule among the Society of Friends that limits membership to a particular colour."⁶¹

To the "inner circle" of British Friend supporters, the establishment response was highly predictable, if still almost pleausurably shocking. From Yearly Meeting the Convention "received much of its tone", Elizabeth Pease told The Liberator, in a heated exposé of the interconnections between the leading personnel of the British Quaker establishment, The Friend and the BFASS.⁶² "The Indiana secession has bothered them extremely", explained Webb in the same paper, and it has "greatly modified their anti-slavery position. It has made plain to the world, and to themselves, that however much Friends love the cause of abolition, they love their sect and its reputation much more. I confess that though I need not have been, I was surprised at the extent to which this fact has been evinced."⁶³

The three-day Peace Convention which immediately followed the Anti-Slavery Conference, organised by the London-based Peace Society and still more heavily dominated by Friends, prolonged the general atmosphere of tension and controversy still further. This time, however, the lines were differently drawn between evangelical "moderates", including Sturge, who ran the London committee, and the Garrisonised "extreme" radicals. Tension centred on the presence of American Garrisonite and "Non-Resister" Henry C. Wright at the Convention, regarded as a dangerous demagogue by the Committee, who had been travelling the country, stirring up provincial "anti-war" societies. Such bodies - for example, in Newcastle and Glasgow, where the Smeals were active - had been busy thumbing their noses at that "iceberg, non-committal, timid concern,"⁶⁴ the Peace Society and, open to Non-Resistance influence, had begun to build up tensions parallel to those between anti-slavery "immediatists" and "gradualists", or between "total abstainers" and moderate temperance adherents. The Peace Society

Committee's attempts to silence and circumvent the irritant radical viewpoint during the Convention served to prove the Garrisonite point about the nature of the entrenched Quaker hierarchy once again, but seemed to carelessly put at risk the anti-slavery alliance with Sturge.

The Convention season over, the Indiana issue continued to simmer and draw blood. In its June issue, The British Friend published the very "Address" from Indiana Anti-Slavery Friends which London Yearly Meeting had rejected, and, with little to lose now, grew increasingly outspoken in its support for the rebel cause. Schism should actually be encouraged, it hinted darkly, where corruption had permeated the "old body": it was to be hoped that the separation might turn out to be the "beginning of 'the purging out of the old leaven'" so that "the whole body of Friends, as regards Anti-Slavery, might become 'a new lump'".

In contrast, the triumphant Friend grew quieter than ever on the issue, attacking instead at a tangent, by using its theological enemy, the arch-conservative and Quietist Philadelphia Friend, to endorse the main Indiana body. When the issue of the Philadelphia Quaker colour-bar was raised in its pages, following the charges made by Arnold Buffum at the Convention, Tylor simply quoted the Philadelphia Friend's claim that "very few of them incline to attend our meetings":

Friends' mode of worship does not suit black people's dispositions: they are fond of music and excitement, and hence they prefer their own meetings, where they regularly hear singing and preaching.⁶⁵

By early 1844, a key anti-slavery issue had become the case of John Brown and the Fugitive Slave Law, North Carolina Yearly Meeting issuing a

minute forbidding Friends from aiding runaway slaves, in view of the legal penalties. While The British Friend reported large public meetings in support of Brown, and launched furious attacks on what now appeared to be the proven "pro-slavery" line of American Friends, The Friend almost wholly ignored the issues. With the radical rhetoric of the burgeoning Anti-State Church movement to the fore, The British Friend also highlighted the Free Church of Scotland "slave-tainted" money issue, the Glasgow Emancipation Society leading the campaign to "return the money".⁶⁶ The London oriented Friend again turned its back.

As we have seen, the political issue shaping the 1844 London Yearly Meeting was, most crucially, the Anti-State Church movement, but the Indiana cause still lay "on the table", as it were. As early as February, however, The Friend had once again pre-empted discussion by fully endorsing the "temperate" and "pacific" language of the main Indiana Yearly Meeting epistle, en route for Meeting for Sufferings and London Yearly Meeting. It was indeed a foregone conclusion that another attempt by Indiana Anti-Slavery Friends to address the British Quaker assembly would be refused, and proposals for British investigation of the case would be quashed.⁶⁷

It was in 1845 that the Indiana issue took off once again, with lobbying centred, as before, on London Yearly Meeting. The British Friend carried a powerful letter from Joseph Sturge in its April number. Signalling once again, a break-up of former political and theological alliances, Sturge roundly attacked his former colleagues in Meeting for Sufferings for appearing to go way beyond the directives of the 1843 London Yearly Meeting in their support for the main, "pro-slavery" Indiana body.⁶⁸

He proposed an immediate review and investigation of this break with Quaker "constitutionality" and this call was backed by "J.G.", who, in a letter published conciliatingly in both Quaker papers, exhorted the forthcoming assembly to promote re-union in Indiana.⁶⁹

The Yearly Meeting establishment managed to thwart this renewed lobbying, however, with a decision by the Committee of Epistles to set up a special sub-committee charged with framing a "written expostulation in brotherly love" to the Indiana rebels. Composed of the old guard of the evangelical establishment, including Stacey, Josiah and Robert Forster, and Joseph John Gurney himself, this sub-committee produced a thoroughly conservative Address, evangelical in rhetoric, underscoring the dignity and authority of a parent body addressing recalcitrant rebels, whose clear duty was to return to the fold. Individual Friends, it was stressed, had an overriding duty to submit to the authority of the Society, while the Society had a duty to counter any tendency among its members towards the anarchy of individualism. All the blame was laid at the door of the Anti-Slavery separatists, none with the "main body" which, according to the Address, had been shamefully betrayed by the wilful individualism of the minority.⁷⁰

The Committee on Epistles and London Yearly Meeting itself fully endorsed this piece, together with the still sharper proposal that the Address should be presented in person by a special delegation which the Sub-Committee would appoint. Rebel sympathisers complained bitterly that this was a "fix", a departure from ordinary convention whereby visiting committees were appointed by the main assembly.⁷¹ Indeed, the resulting delegation could hardly have been more representative of the Whig

power-base, more pleasing to the main Indiana body, and more dubious to the anti-slavery rebels. Consisting of four elderly and very weighty Friends - George Stacey, Josiah Forster, William Forster, and John Allen -, it contained two Friend proprietors and the current Clerk and a former Clerk of Yearly Meeting. All four were key figures in the overlapping, London-based, network of evangelical, philanthropic societies - British and Foreign Anti-Slavery, Peace Society, British and Foreign School Society, British and Foreign Bible Society - and had been members of the Prison Discipline Society grouping. Three out of the four had participated in the Beacon investigation in 1836 which, as all anti-evangelical Friends - British and American - knew, had been a whitewash by the Gurneyites, and two of the four were actually brothers.⁷² The Friend establishment could hardly have achieved a more unitedly anti-radical, anti-Dissent, more Gurneyite and Whiggish delegation in its wildest dreams.

Such was the visiting committee's evangelical complexion, indeed, that it ran the risk of offending the deeply conservative but Quietist Philadelphia Quaker establishment, which took precedence in American Quaker affairs. But in the event, the Philadelphia and allied quaker ranks seemed willing to overlook their guests' suspect biblicism in the greater interests of crushing the menace of political activism. The delegation's evangelicalism was, on the other hand, positively to endear them to the Indiana establishment, to whom the Woolmanesque Quietism of Charles Osborn and his followers had been almost as nauseating as their politics.

The delegation left in August, 1845, scheduled to arrive in Richmond, Indiana, in time for the Indiana Yearly Meeting. Surprisingly little news reached the British Quaker press over the next few months, despite The

Friend's intimate connections with the delegates, and The British Friend's equally close contacts with their intended "victims". Distances evidently presented communication problems, as the delegation visited the outposts of schism in the farflung Indiana Yearly Meeting territory of Ohio, Michigan, Iowa, and Indiana itself. Josiah Forster became ill during the winter, and even the approving Philadelphia Friend complained of the elusiveness of the "Quaker embassy", as the crueller Garrisonite Pennsylvania Freeman dubbed it.⁷³ Doubtless, however, news of the delegation's progress was being dispatched privately, to be stored - in The British Friend's case - for future ammunition.

According to the Anti-Slavery version, the delegation lost no time on arrival in "throwing themselves exclusively" into the arms of the main body, "claiming them as their dear Friends; giving them the right-hand of fellowship, comforting and consoling them under their great trials."⁷⁴ Under the guidance of a special advisory committee organised by Indiana Yearly Meeting, the delegation visited the outlying rebels first in a blatant attempt, so the separatists had it, to divide and rule. Little or no attempt was made to contact the Anti-Slavery leadership, concentrated in Richmond and other urban centres. As they went about, the delegation made it devastatingly clear that they were not there to investigate, negotiate or mediate. They carried out their remit by reading out the London Yearly Meeting Address and its accompanying Minute of authorisation to group after group, family after family of anti-slavery rebels, but refused to attend any gatherings of the Anti-Slavery Yearly Meeting, and kept well away from the Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society Convention, then underway.

One by one, the groups of anti-slavery Friends visited had rejected the

delegation's advice and protested roundly against such a presumptuous and tyrannous exercise in authority. When the Anti-Slavery Meeting for Sufferings requested the delegation to carry an Address back to London Yearly Meeting, this was brusquely refused.⁷⁵ Though some of the seceders could sympathise with the difficulties which these ageing and, indeed, life-long supporters of the British anti-slavery movement, were under, complaints of their arrogant behaviour were legion. As the heavily Quaker Indiana Anti-Slavery Society minuted at its Convention, the delegation had virtually taken "sides with the old Yearly Meeting of Indiana in its proscriptive course towards its members": had "destroyed all our confidence in them as members of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society": and had indulged in conduct which was to be regarded as "extremely temporising and hypocritical, and totally unworthy ..."⁷⁶

The delegation returned to Britain in the spring of 1846, in time to present its report to London Yearly Meeting. The delegates stressed the "sympathy" and "affection" with which they had been received by both sides in the dispute. Their experiences had totally confirmed the correctness of London Yearly Meeting's line on this issue. While they could not be sure of any particular achievement in bringing the rebels to heel - God would provide or not, as the case might be - yet the importance of good order and harmony had been stressed and upheld. A valuable lesson had been taught, not only in the troubled heart of Indiana, but here at home, also.⁷⁷

This time, however, The British Friend scored the considerable triumph of rushing out its report of London Yearly Meeting days before The Friend. Its account of the assembly broke new bounds in terms of the fullness of

its coverage, particularly on the Indiana issue. The shape of the debate, the specific challenges to proposed minutes, were clearly described and, for the first time, a leading speaker was actually named: in this case, Joseph Sturge, who rose to challenge the delegation's report. Noting with pain that he was now attacking Friends with whom he had become closely associated, he particularly condemned the delegation's refusal to carry the Anti-Slavery Friends' reply and the subsequent refusal of the Yearly Meeting to receive it, after it had been "sent in another way". He would be taking the highly unprecedented step of publishing it himself. It duly appeared, in the very same number of The British Friend in which these accusations appeared, its bitter charges of tyranny now reverberating against a dictatorial and censoring London Yearly Meeting.⁷⁸

The British Friend's account of the row, breaking new journalistic ground, raised hackles among the Yearly Meeting establishment. Its picture of a strong and vocal opposition to Yearly Meeting consensus seemed particularly subversive, challenging as it did, the convenient mythology about Quaker decision-making. Already, in 1845, the year of the Wilburite affair, British Friend reporting of Yearly Meeting had come under attack, and the Smeals had mounted a brisk defence of their right to report every bit as freely as a "contemporary Journal, with which ... certain Friends 'about the Table' were understood to be connected". Claiming that its reporting was taken from (collective) memory, rather than being a verbatim - and thus, somehow secular - account, The British Friend had defiantly proclaimed its freedom from any official control.⁷⁹

The Friend raised the matter again, however, in its Yearly Meeting number of June, 1846. Its own report of the Indiana session was smooth

and unrevealing, conveying the satisfaction with which the delegation was welcomed back, and the pious prayers for unity. But its editorial was spiked with venom against its rival. The issue of the reporting of Yearly Meeting had been raised during the assembly, it noted, several Friends actually calling for a total ban. Naturally, it assumed it was exempt from this attack, since the paper had always avoided controversy, contention, or the individual attribution of opinions. This was in sharp contrast to the "other" paper, which had portrayed Yearly Meeting as a forum for debate where opponents clashed, but where authority was imposed through the spurious "sense of the meeting". "We do not come together for the purpose of advocating or debating measures which may appear to be for the general good", claimed Tylor, "but seriously to consider the state of the Society". Spirituality alone was the rightful province of the assembly, and that was why Quakers eschewed what The Friend itself admitted to be the "customary method" of taking votes.

This was an intriguing re-write of the Quaker rule-book and symptomatic, for The British Friend alliance, of the Yearly Meeting establishment's constant attempt to suppress free speech by decreeing it out of order. The British Friend's most telling reply was through the words of the Indiana Anti-Slavery letter which lambasted both U.S. and British Quaker hierarchies as following the tradition of the established church:

All ecclesiastical history testifies to the fact, that in proportion to the corruptions of the church have been its claims to infallibility, and to a blind submission to the decrees of its dignitaries.⁸⁰

The metaphor of the "State Church" had become a powerful one for Quaker "Nonconformists" to attack their own Establishment.

The complex cross-currents between "pro-slavery", anti-slavery and evangelicalism became once again the subject of intense attention over the Evangelical Alliance affair, in 1846. Formed under the inspiration of Joseph Sturge's friend, Birmingham Congregational minister John Angell James, the Alliance was intended to bring together a cohort of Anglican and Nonconformist evangelicals "holding the voluntary principle", but established primarily as a "defence against Infidelity, Popery, Puseyism", - and, "Plymouth Brethrenism".⁸¹ With credal tests centred on the Trinity, atonement, justification by faith, the role of the Scriptures, even evangelical Friends stood no chance of inclusion, though some Alliance supporters regretted the consequent ostracism of such leading Quaker evangelicals as Sturge.⁸²

The Alliance never became an issue for the consideration of The Friend, presumably because it would have raised too many difficulties for a Quaker newspaper which had much in common with this "no popery" movement. But in February, 1846, The British Friend launched its first attack on the Alliance, condemning its doctrinal exclusiveness, but also accusing it of collaboration with the American "pro-slavery" evangelical establishment. An Alliance Convention was planned for August, it revealed, to which American representatives had been invited, with no holes barred on slaveholders.

The British Friend shared the indignation of the Dissenting, liberal world. Joseph Sturge took a similar line, getting the BFASS to officially oppose the Convention invitations, while also privately lobbying Angell James.⁸³ But at the same time, the anti-Alliance campaign was seized upon by the small Garrisonite caucus as the golden opportunity for a revival of

their fortunes. The Glasgow Emancipation Society, in collaboration with the remaining provincial Garrisonite groups and individuals, spearheaded passionate protest. A top-level U.S. Garrisonite emissary to Britain was arranged, with Arnold Buffum and Frederick Douglass joining the still-touring Henry C. Wright. William Lloyd Garrison himself was invited for August, his arrival carefully timed to coincide with the Evangelical Alliance's Convention, and to be followed up by a major lecture tour, his first in Britain since 1840.⁸⁴

Central to the Garrisonites' missionary tours was the attempt to win support for a new British Garrisonite organisation, the Anti-Slavery League. The idea had been mooted by Dublin's R. D. Webb earlier in the year, and had been discussed in correspondence with Boston. The aim was to unite, revive and co-ordinate the old provincial groupings, to educate the British public more effectively on American "pro-slavery", to raise money for the American Anti-Slavery Society, and to build a force against the "mere irresponsible oligarchy" of the BFASS: this despite the sympathetic stance of the BFASS leadership on a number of issues since 1842.⁸⁵

It had been decided against a formal launch Convention: too much ballyhoo, "splutter and mere self-display", wrote R. D. Webb to Maria Weston Chapman in Boston, recalling with scorn the "sham" of the 1840 World Convention.⁸⁶ A small, inaugural, informal meeting was decided on, and this was organised for Garrison's arrival in August, chaired by George Thompson, graced by the ex-Chartist, Henry Vincent - made respectable through Complete Suffrage lecturing -, and scheduled for maximum anti-Alliance publicity.⁸⁷

The launch achieved, leaving Mary Howitt for one breathless over the heroic charisma of Garrison and Douglass - "I can talk of nothing but the 'dear Blacks' ..." ⁸⁸ - the allies now embarked on their lecture tour. Bristol was the first stop, where they addressed a sober and well-heeled anti-slavery audience dominated primarily by the local BFASS Quaker elite. An infant League branch was established with Garrison supporter and Unitarian J. B. Estlin as treasurer, and as a result the Quaker-dominated Bristol and Clifton Ladies Emancipation Committee, a branch of the BFASS, decided to affiliate to the League as well. ⁸⁹ Tub-thumping through Britain, backed not only by The British Friend but significantly by The Nonconformist, which praised it for having "very properly exposed the inconsistency" of Alliance proceedings, ⁹⁰ the League claimed victory for itself when the Evangelical Alliance dramatically split over the slaveholding issue. Leading Edinburgh Female Emancipation Society member, Jane Smeal, argued, in the November edition of The British Friend, that the campaign as a whole had been a major triumph for the League. Garrison's tour had been a tremendous success, she claimed, his libertarian theology roundly defeating the dead, enclosing and immoral dogmas of evangelicalism, whose worst excesses the Alliance represented.

After Garrison's departure, however, the League rapidly folded: due, according to the elitist Estlin, to the lack of the very wealthy establishment support of which the BFASS had so much. ⁹¹ Other Garrisonites saw its demise differently, Anna Richardson of Newcastle, for example, actually rejoicing in the collapse of a national organisation which essentially broke with British Garrisonite tradition. As in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Darlington, Manchester, and so on, she pointed out, the anti-slavery and peace groups in which she and her husband were involved

were primarily local, only loosely and informally linked, via The British Friend and the American connections, to one another. The League had, in her view, been too much a wing of the American Anti-Slavery Society. She and many others wanted the freedom to identify with the radical wing of the movement, but at the same time to link up with and embrace, British Friend-style, the liberal elements of the BFASS. And above all, she valued the sense of provincial independence, which came from not having to toe the line of a national society. Their little groupings had long recognised that "London societies" would not recognise "provincial associations" unless they were more of an "auxiliary character than would be consistent with our ideas of independence."⁹² From that perspective, the League's demise was therefore to be almost welcomed, as an essential feature of the anti-London, federal, informal, protesting character of British Quaker Garrisonism, British Quaker Liberal-Radicalism, so eloquently voiced by The British Friend.

So ended another vigorous year of campaigning. The victory which Corn Law abolition implied that year for the urban bourgeoisie over "old establishment" must in some ways have seemed an apt emblem for The British Friend's continued assault on the Yearly Meeting "aristocracy". True, the Quaker Whig establishment had survived, still dominant in Yearly Meeting, in Meeting for Sufferings, through The Friend, through the London philanthropic network, and within provincial Quaker hierarchies. It could still count on the tensions and divisions within the "opposition", tensions which The British Friend seemed to no sooner smooth over, forging an effective liberal alliance, than it would play upon them once again, re-opening wounds and sensitivities for the Sturge-ite liberals who made up the bulk of Quakerism's potential "Nonconformists".

Nevertheless, already in its first four years of existence, The British Friend - that "strife-sowing periodical", as Whig Gurneyite Edward Pease dubbed it⁹³ - had built very effectively on the legacy of The Irish Friend. It had continued to voice the particular stance of the tiny cluster of Quaker Garrisonites, but had drawn to itself, on the whole, the support of a much wider liberalism. It had built connections with the Liberal Nonconformist movement, and it had continued to develop, through the mingled rhetoric of Garrison and Miall, a new liberal "Quietism", which might ultimately serve to challenge Gurneyism more sharply than liberal evangelicalism. It had shown that the opposition was a force to be reckoned with, which would continue to challenge the political, social and denominational allegiances of the Quaker body. Juxtaposed, the records of the Quaker press, from Lindfield Reporter to Irish Friend, from Friend to British Friend, indicate very clearly the extent to which the Quaker community was undergoing, through conflict, a complex and painful process of re-orientation in terms of class and political identity: a process of re-orientation itself expressed through Quakerism.

Footnotes to Chapter V

1. The Friend's January issue appeared February 15th: "Then and Now", The Friend, October 11, 1929, LXIX, No. 41. The British Friend, officially dated January, cannot have appeared before February 13th, the date of its editorial.
2. See "Then and Now", as above. George Stacey was Clerk to LYM, 1838-1849: pedigree, BFSS, BFASS, Sufferings, Beacon Investigation Committee; Josiah Forster had been LYM Clerk 1820-21: pedigree, BFSS, BFBS, BFASS, Sufferings, Beacon Committee, brother also to Robert and William Forster, with similar links; John Hodgkin was Assistant Yearly Meeting Clerk. All 3 were also members of Tottenham Meeting: see R. Collie, The Quakers of Tottenham, 1775-1825, Edmuntton Hundred Historical Society, (1978).
3. Charles Tylor edited The Friend 1843-9: biographical details obscure. The Friend was published by Charles Gilpin, printed by Wm. Johnston and Rchd. Barrett. Gilpin was to become the paper's editor in 1852. The quotations are Sturge's : see note 37 below.
4. Friend circular, n.d., Friends House Library, vol. N. 165.
5. Friend, January, 1843.
6. Ibid. Also Lindfield Reporter, December, 1842.
7. British Friend, January, 1843: "We have no desire for the monopoly notwithstanding our having been the first to enter the field."
8. William Smeal (1793-1877), recorded as a minister in 1840, according to the Testimony of Edinburgh Two-months Meeting, 1878; Robert Smeal (1804-1886). See papers of Glasgow Emancipation Society, Mitchell Library, Glasgow; George B. Burnet, The Story of Quakerism in Scotland, 1650-1850 (London, 1950); William H. Marwick, "Quakers in Victorian Scotland", Journal of Friends Historical Society, LII, No. 2, 1969.
9. "Then and Now", Friend, Oct. 11, 1929, op. cit. Also British Friend, January, 1843. In February, 1843, for example, the British Friend's agents/correspondents included the familiar names of Elizabeth Pease of Darlington, Ann Knight of Bristol, John Wigham, jnr of Edinburgh, Anthony Wigham of Aberdeen, Richard Allen of Dublin, Jacob Post in London, and also, intriguingly John Bright of Rochdale.
10. Liberator, March 24, 1843. Further praise appeared on May 26 also.
11. BF, January, 1843.
12. BF, December, 1843, January, 1844; Frd, December, 1843.
13. Norman McCord, The Anti-Corn Law League, 1838-46 (London, 2nd edition, 1968); Henry Richard, Memoirs of Joseph Sturge (1865); Keith Robbins, John Bright (London, 1979); R. A. J. Walling, ed., The Diaries of John Bright (New York, 1930). Apart from appearing in The British Friend's original agency list, John Bright himself does not figure in the paper's coverage of the League, nor in correspondence, etc. Bright's attention

was obviously on the national campaign organisation, and parliamentary politics. He had also clashed with Sturge (and The British Friend) over the sugar question, and had resigned at the end of 1842 from the CSU: see below, ch. VI. Increasingly, perhaps, after 1843, he becomes rather a maverick figure for Friends, not very closely involved in or working through, Quaker networks.

14. BF, Jan. 1843. The British Friend was, however, to come out on Sturge's side, in favour of protection for "free-grown" sugar against the purist Free Trade views of Cobden, Bright, Miall, Richardson, Thompson. See BF July, 1843 and April 1844.

15. BF, Feb. 1843.

16. See below, ch. VI.

17. Robbins, John Bright.

18. Robbins.

19. See below, ch. VII.

20. See, for example, Norman Gash, Reaction and Reconstruction in English Politics, 1832-1852 (Oxford, 1965); David M. Thompson, "The Liberation Society, 1844-1868," in Pressure from Without, edited by Patricia Hollis (London, 1974); and Thompson, Nonconformists in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1972).

21. Fd, March, 1843; also for February, April and August.

22. Fd, April, 1843.

23. See, for example, The Nonconformist for November 15th, 1843.

24. Quaker delegates included Joseph Sturge, Josiah Pumphrey and Arthur Albright, from Birmingham, for example. The Nonconformist indeed recorded Albright's contribution to one of the debates: Nonconformist, May 1st, 1844, and May 6th, 1844. See also Thompson, "The Liberation Society", op. cit.

25. BF, June, 1844.

26. Rufus M. Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism, 2 vols. (London, 1921), I, ch. xiii; William Hodgson, The Society of Friends in the Nineteenth Century: a Historical View of the Successive Convulsions and Schisms ... During the Period, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1876); Edward Grubb, Separations; their Causes and Effects. Studies in Nineteenth Century Quakerism (London, 1914).

27. Fd, Nov., 1845.

28. BF, Jan., 1846.

29. Journal of Charles Osborn (Cincinnati, 1854), p. 292.

30. Philadelphia Friend, XVII (December 9, 1843), No. 11. Also The

Liberator, Feb. 21, 1840; Elizabeth Buffum Chace, 1806-1899: Her Life, by Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman and Arthur Crawford Wyman, 2 vols. (Boston, 1914); Elizabeth Buffum Chace, "My Anti-Slavery Reminiscences," included in Two Quaker Sisters, ed. Malcolm R. Lovell (New York, 1937).

31. Philadelphia Friend, Dec. 9, 1843. See Edgerton for the Anti-Slavery viewpoint.

32. Irish Friend, April, 1842.

33. From the summons to the separation Convention published in the Free Labor Advocate, December, 1842: Edgerton, p. 63.

34. BF, May 31st, 1843.

35. Fd, April, 1843.

36. See Richard, Memoirs of Joseph Sturge.

37. BF, April, 1843.

38. Ibid.

39. Fd, May, 1843.

40. Meeting for Sufferings Minutes, FHL. Sufferings representatives included Stacey and Forster, also fellow evangelicals Samuel Gurney, Robert Forster, Samuel Fox, Peter Bedford, and G. W. Alexander.

41. BF, May, 1843.

42. Liberator, May 26, 1843.

43. Ruth Anna Ketring, Charles Osborn in the Anti-Slavery Movement (Ohio, 1937).

44. Ibid; also BF, May, 1843.

45. Fd, June, 1843.

46. LYM Minutes, 1843, FHL.

47. BF, May, 1843.

48. LYM Epistles, FHL.

49. Josiah Forster's notes on the Sub-Committee meeting: Josiah Forster, "Notes on Yearly Meeting, 1828-1870," MSS vol. S26, FHL. William Forster, Edward Pease, George Stacey, Peter Bedford, Samuel Gurney, John Hodgkin and Josiah Forster himself are among the identifiable "old guard".

50. LYM Epistles, FHL. This Epistle, with its famous phrase, "we desire ever to be found of those who are quiet in the land," is often cited as evidence of the kind of "Quietistic" conservatism against which John Bright had to struggle, and, indeed, is sometimes assumed to have been directed specifically at Bright. The truth is more complex, as I have

tried to show, and such comments tend to misuse the term "Quietism".

51. The Diaries of Edward Pease, ed., Sir Alfred Pease, (London, 1907) p. 196: entry for June 2, 1843.

52. William Hodgson, The Society of Friends in the Nineteenth Century, p. 31. Hodgson pointed out the numbers game involved: Indiana Yearly Meeting had some 25,000 members, while the rebel body had only 4 Quarterly Meetings, 10 Monthly Meetings, and 2,000 members at its height in 1844.

53. Ketrang, op. cit., p. 68.

54. Walter Edgerton, A History of the Separation in Indiana Yearly Meetings of Friends (Cincinnati, 1856).

55. Liberator, July, 28, 1843.

56. BFASS, Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, 1843. The BFASS Committee for 1843 included Richard Barrett (Friend printer), T. F. Buxton, Josiah and Robert Forster, Stacey, also old PDS supporters and Fry-Gurney coadjutors such as the Rev. J. H. Hinton and Dr. Stephen Lushington.

57. Elizabeth Pease, The Liberator, May 26, 1843.

58. Liberator, as above; also July 28, 1843, Sept 1, 1843.

59. BFASS, Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, 1843.

60. Liberator, July, 28, 1843.

61. Proceedings of the ... Convention, pp. 111-114.

62. Liberator, Sept 1, 1843.

63. Liberator, July 28, 1843.

64. Henry C. Wright, The Liberator, July 28, 1843.

65. Fd., Nov. 1843.

66. See papers of Glasgow Emancipation Society, Mitchell Library, Glasgow; Burnet, The Story of Quakerism in Scotland; Marwick, "Quakers in Victorian Scotland".

67. Fd., Feb. 1844.

68. BF, April, 1845; Meeting for Sufferings Minutes, FHL. The key complaint was about the reply Sufferings had decided to make to the Indiana Meeting for Sufferings, following Yearly Meeting in 1843. That reply had been drawn up by a sub-committee of familiar names, including Stacey, Samuel Gurney, Robert and Josiah Forster, G. W. Alexander.

69. BF, April, 1845; Fd, April, 1845.

70. LYM Minutes, 1845, FHL
71. "J.M." in The British Friend, Oct., 1846.
72. LYM Minutes, 1845, FHL; "Dictionary of Quaker Biography", compiled by FHL.
73. Philadelphia Friend, Jan 24, 1846; Liberator, Dec 19, 1846, article reprinted from the Pennsylvania Freeman.
74. Journal of Charles Osborn, p. 429.
75. Edgerton, p. 347. His is a very full account of the delegation's visit from the separatist viewpoint; William Forster's Memoirs, ed. B. Seebohm (London, 1865), 2 vols., gives the deputation's side.
76. Liberator, Dec 19, 1845.
77. Report from the Indiana Deputation: LYM Minutes, 1846.
78. BF, May, 1846.
79. BF, June, 1845.
80. BF, May 1846.
81. R. W. Dale, ed., Life and Letters of John Angell James (London, 1861), p. 398.
82. BF, Feb., 1846.
83. Memoirs of Joseph Sturge, ch. xvii.
84. See C. Taylor, British and American Abolitionists: An Episode in Transatlantic Understanding (Edinburgh, 1974) for 1846; Liberator, 1846.
85. R. D. Webb to M. W. Chapman, Dublin, Feb. 26, 1846: Taylor, p. 271.
86. Webb to Chapman, 16th July, 1846: Taylor, p. 273.
87. Garrison sent several lively accounts of the League launch home: see Taylor
88. Mary Howitt: An Authobiography, ed., Margaret Howitt, 2 vols (1889), II, p. 34.
89. Taylor; Bristol and Clifton Auxiliary Ladies Anti-Slavery Society Minute Book, 1840-59, Estlin Papers, Dr Williams Library, 24.120.
90. BF, Sept, 1846.
91. Estlin to May, Oct. 1st, 1846: Taylor, p. 292. Estlin was particularly critical of Garrison's association of anti-slavery with the suffrage and other issues, and the involvement of "turn-offs" to the middle-classes such as ex-Chartists Vincent and William Lovett.
92. Anna Richardson to S. May?, n.d. Newcastle: Taylor, p. 301.

93. The Diaries of Edward Pease, p. 218-9.

VI : Quakers and Class Politics in Birmingham in the 1830s and 40s

The final section of this study "backtracks" on the coverage of the previous two chapters to examine two local case-studies of Quakers operating in contrasting industrial communities in the 1830s and 40s: Birmingham and South Durham.

These case-studies provide new perspectives on some of the individual Quaker liberals already encountered in the national context: particularly Joseph Sturge, Joseph Pease snr, and Elizabeth Pease. More significantly, of course, they profile political tensions and developments within the local Quaker network, and the Quaker role within municipal politics, local pressure groups and philanthropic organisation. They explore Quaker, Whig and Liberal strategies to placate or counter old elites on the one hand, and the threat of Chartism and Trade Unionism on the other. They look at Quaker involvement in movements not covered in the national Quaker press, most notably the Complete Suffrage movement. And they enable us to explore Quaker activity in relation to particular economic circumstances and structures: Quakers as employers, as capitalists and entrepreneurs, as urban developers. They therefore provide a vital overlay to the national picture of the Quaker community's political and social development in the 1830s and 40s provided by the Quaker press.

In the ensuing study of the Quaker role within the class politics of Birmingham in the 1830s and 40s, and in the Birmingham-based development of the Complete Suffrage Union, another dimension thus may be added to exploration of the ways in which Friends participated in, and contributed to, mid-Victorian Liberalism, providing a new angle, too, on the early

stages of the "Birmingham caucus", and Birmingham "civic" culture.

Asa Briggs provides the now classic picture of Birmingham in the 1840s - a city whose industry, economy and class relations contrasts sharply with the equally historically archetypal Manchester. Professor Briggs and other historians have stressed that Birmingham had a remarkably diverse economy, with small, workshop-based industries ranging from button-making to armaments, and a complexity of outwork arrangements.¹ It thus also had a large artisan class (roughly half the adult male population, according to Dr Tholfsen),² with upward mobility available in good times. But when bad times came, deference and support for the masters rather than confrontation were induced by the particular industrial structures. The apparent absence of marked class confrontation in mid-century Birmingham, the strength of Friendly Society-style labour organisation, the success of local Liberalism in aligning working-class aspirations with it, has become proverbial. Thus in his Victorian Cities, Professor Briggs indicates that if Manchester should be seen as the symbol of traumatic second-phase industrialisation, Birmingham can be seen - and was so perceived by contemporaries - as the prosperous and harmonious symbol of its emergent third phase.

However, as Dr Tholfsen has indicated, the Birmingham of the late 1830s and early 1840s did not quite look like this.³ Though the city had not developed at quite the overwhelming rate of Manchester, Leeds or Bradford, its population had almost trebled since the turn of the century.⁴ And whilst the pattern of economic diversity and relatively small units of production was to remain characteristic of the city until the end of the century, industrial structures were changing, with the introduction of new

plant, new divisions of labour, new segregation of employers and employed within particular industries.⁵ Railway mania was helping to heat up the local economy and create a new climate of speculation in land and shares. The city was also becoming more clearly segregated socially, with the development of middle-class suburbs, commercial districts, inner-city trouble spots. The business of production was becoming more clearly separated from the private enjoyment of its rewards by successful traders, shopkeepers and manufacturers.

Like all other expanding industrial cities, Birmingham had outgrown its structures of local government by the early nineteenth century, and a restructuring of middle-class and mercantile power and politics in the late 1830s and 40s focussed on control of local institutions.⁶ The bankers and traders who had established the Street Commissioners in the mid eighteenth century, among them leading Quakers, had, by the 1830s, become identified as a Tory-Whig oligarchy, self-elected. Under the banner of Liberalism and Radicalism, a series of battles for control of local decision-making was fought, as middle-class power shook itself free from identification with the interests of the county and landed establishment, and adopted a new political and ideological base.

In the era of the Reform movement, prior to 1832, that local process of middle-class division and re-alignment could procure the support of artisan radicalism, despite the tensions within the Birmingham Political Union.⁷ But by the late 1830s, artisan allegiance was splitting away from old deferences, and was set to re-emerge in mass working-class politics. Birmingham Radicals had, in the heady days of the BPU, preached the virtues of the special local relationship between masters and men. Thomas Attwood

had said at a public meeting during the Reform Bill campaign that "the interests of masters and men" were "in fact, one":

If the masters flourish, the men are certain to flourish with them; and if the masters suffer difficulties, their difficulties must shortly affect the workmen in a threefold degree. The masters therefore ought to take their workmen by the hand and knock at the gates of government and demand the redress of their common grievances.⁸

That claim obviously rang a little hollow after the betrayal of the Reform Act, and by 1837/8, as Birmingham faced economic depression alongside other industrial cities, middle class Liberals were struggling to retain influence over the burgeoning local Chartist movement. The riots which erupted in Birmingham in 1839 when the Chartist Convention transferred from London, the set-piece clashes between working-class crowds and Metropolitan police, the aftermath of arrests and recriminations, signified the complete break in the city's tradition of industrial harmony at this period.

Birmingham's manufacturing and trader middle classes were in danger of responding only with monolithic and aggressive authority. An alternative strategy of diversion and diffusion through "rapprochement" developed by a particular group of Liberal employers linked by Nonconformity, Quakerism, philanthropic and civic networks and centred round Joseph Sturge, of which the Complete Suffrage movement became, briefly, the most tangible symbol, was to play an important part in re-establishing local bourgeois ascendancy. Though still quirky in the national context, since such "conciliation" would require the surer ground of economic stability and victory over Chartism of the late 1840s and 50s, that strategy was, as we have seen in relation to the Total Abstinence movement, a significant

"alternative face" to bourgeois Liberalism. To some degree, indeed, it recalled the "Whig-progressive" paternalism of the William Allen set.⁹

The Religious Census of 1851 recorded the strength of Dissent in Birmingham, and the particular virility of Old Dissent. Within this category Quaker attendances on Census Sunday amounted to a mere 544, in comparison with the Congregationalists' 3,824, the Baptists' 4,224, and the Unitarians' 1,852.¹⁰ Yet Quakers in early and mid-nineteenth century Birmingham formed an expanding and economically significant community. The records of the major Quaker families and their businesses indicate the prominence of particular Friends in the Birmingham economy even at this period and their participation in the political and social life of the city. They indicate an independence and confidence of activity among local Friends: an independence at variance with the picture given by London Yearly Meeting records or by The Friend of London-based centralism, but radically expressed, of course, by The Irish Friend and British Friend. They also suggest that there was a remarkable amount of movement in and out of Birmingham, as part of developing business and business networks, and that there were a range of important provincial connections with other Quaker centres established through family and marriage alliances and philanthropic and political campaigns: connections often inseparable from commercial contacts and interests.

Prominent Quaker families in mid-century Birmingham can be divided into new arrivals, and more established clans. Long-standing Quaker families were the Lloyds (banking, eighteenth century establishment in Birmingham); the Cadburys (retail, turn-of-century arrival in Birmingham); the Southalls

(pharmacy, 1820 arrival); and the Sturges (corn factors, 1822 arrival). A number of other Friends who were to become prominent commercially and politically arrived in the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s, benefiting from the influence and contacts of the older families: for example Arthur Albright (set up in phosphorous business with brother-in-law Edmund Sturge, 1840); William White (retail, set up business 1848); Richard Tangye (engineering, arrived 1852).¹¹

The Quaker community indeed provided a network of support, introductions and contacts which facilitated the establishment of new arrivals. The experience of Richard Tapper Cadbury looking for business opportunity with partner James Rutter in the 1790s, was undoubtedly also characteristic of the 1830s and 1840s. Rutter and Cadbury first reconnoitred the local retail market, then took up lodgings and went to the Bull Street Meeting, where they were welcomed by Charles Lloyd and "furnished with many letters of introduction."¹² Arthur Albright's entrance onto the Birmingham business scene some forty years later was facilitated by an earlier period of employment at Southalls, and, of course, by connections through marriage with the Sturges.¹³ The White and Pike printing firm established itself in Bull Street adjacent to both the Southall and Cadbury businesses, and Richard Tangye began his business by using their shop as his base.¹⁴

The local business support network was in turn enhanced by the larger national and provincial Quaker network, which facilitated an interchange of expertise and experience, as well as backing for new business initiatives and diversification. Richard Tapper Cadbury, for example, draper of Bull Street, set up his son John in the tea and coffee trade next door,

following John's apprenticeship at Quaker grocers in Leeds and London. The next generation carried forward the business by developing and dividing it into retail and manufacture, drawing on training and experience at Rowntrees' grocery business in York, and contacts with Frys of Bristol.¹⁵

Bull Street in central Birmingham characterised the various layers and strands of the Quaker community in the mid-nineteenth century, and its place in the city's commercial and political life. A number of Quaker businesses were located in Bull Street, with Richard Tapper Cadbury's drapery store forming a fashionable centre by the early nineteenth century. As mentioned above, the Quaker Meeting House was also on Bull Street.¹⁶ The first half of the nineteenth century was remarkable for the Meeting's development of a recreational life, also centred on Bull Street, but over and above the official structures of the Society: activities aimed particularly at the male business leaders and apprentices within the Society, and working in intriguing contrast to the influence of the Owenite and Socialist "Labour Exchange" on Bull Street, in which George Holyoake participated.¹⁷ The Friends' Reading Society was formed in 1828, with annual jamborees by the late 1830s at the Cadbury Works, and a Friends Essay Society emerged in the late 1830s. By mid-century, the Friends' Reading Society is recorded as having a library over the Bull Street shop of William White and Cornelius Pike, providing a general social centre and meeting place for Friends.¹⁸ Bull Street, then, provided something of a microcosm of the Quaker community and a symbol of its secure role in the city's economy. When the Bull Ring riots erupted nearby, therefore, they had a physical immediacy as great as the troubles of Newgate and Spitalfields had for the Fry-Allen group in early 19th century central London.¹⁹

Birmingham Friends of course, shared in, and indeed dominated, the local branches of particular pressure groups and philanthropic associations on the Whig and Liberal front, most notably anti-slavery, the Agency Committee campaign of the early 1830s, and the Apprenticeship campaign of the late 1830s. As we have already seen in Chapter IV, Quakers led the development of the Birmingham Temperance Society, and its records of the early 1840s indicate their continued heavy involvement. In 1843, for example, its President was John Cadbury, its Vice-Presidents numbered Joseph Sturge and fellow-Friends, Thomas Clark and Josiah Pumphrey, its secretary was Pumphrey's brother and business partner, while more Cadburys, Sturges and Pumphreys figured markedly on the subscription list.²⁰

Quaker recreational activities and philanthropic organisations such as this tended to extend and consolidate the business networks and church life of the men. But Quaker women also had their networks, as we have seen especially within a movement like Anti-Slavery. The Birmingham Female Society for the Relief of British Negro Slaves was almost entirely under Quaker control in the 1820s. Twenty years later (1845), Sophia Sturge was its successor society's secretary, Mrs Sampson Lloyd its treasurer, another Mrs Lloyd and Miss Cadbury were on its committee, while Southalls, Sturges, Cappers and Pumphreys provided the major subscriptions.²¹

But by the late 1830s and 40s, the Quaker community had a new dimension to it, as business and family life became separate and distinct. Bull Street and central Birmingham continued to accommodate the public life of business, the Society, politics, philanthropy and recreation. But successful Quaker businessmen were moving their families out to quieter suburbs, virtually "zoned from industrial development", as Catherine Hall

has commented, and an area like Edgbaston became home to a small colony of wealthy Friends, from Sturges to Albrights to Cadburys.²² Indeed this movement, parallel to the earlier generation removal of the Fry-Allen set from the City of London to Stoke Newington, helps to illuminate the quite fundamental shifts which were occurring in these Quaker family businesses. These developments reflected the wider changes in Birmingham's industrial structures, and underlay the changing profile of Quaker political activity in the 1830s and 40s.

Take the Cadbury business, for example. In 1794, Richard Tapper Cadbury set up his Bull Street draper store with partner Rutter and, until 1812, he lived above the shop with his family, his wife Elizabeth supervising a business household of apprentices and partners. The shop's profitability increased until, by the 1820s, Cadbury was regarded as "one of the most substantial Birmingham tradesmen", developing modern retailing techniques alongside, for example, his neighbour Southall. The business development became more marked in the next generation, however, following the establishment of his sons' tea and coffee business in the 1820s. By the mid-1830s, John Cadbury had begun to separate out the retail side of the business, and to develop cocoa manufacture as a separate enterprise with its own works, thus quite distinct from the traditional business household. By the 1840s, John Cadbury had moved with his wife and family from Bull Street to Edgbaston, and, in 1847, a new larger cocoa factory was built, signifying the greater potential of the manufacturing side of the business.²³

Similar developments can be seen in other Birmingham Quaker businesses, as Albright and Sturge moved from pharmacy to phosphorous manufacture, or

as Tangye switched from trading to engineering.²⁴ The same kinds of changes can also be seen in Quaker businesses elsewhere, amongst firms which often had intriguing and influential contacts with Birmingham Quaker entrepreneurs. It was in the 1830s and 40s, for example, that Huntley and Palmers of Reading moved from a combined retail and bakery business, organised on a household basis, into biscuit manufacture, based on factory organisation. It was also at this period that Clarks of Street developed from shoemaking to the mass production of footwear.²⁵

Despite the predominantly small-scale character of production in mid-nineteenth century Birmingham, economic organisation and industrial relations were changing as firms grew, diversified and specialised, and as the divisions between capital and labour became clearer. In the case of Friends, such changes meant the difference between heading a business that was also a Quaker household, made up of Quaker apprentices, sons and relations, who shared the various layers of Quaker religious and social life with their employers, and heading a business where Quaker employers took on waged workers, whose class, culture and private lives were entirely separate from theirs, socially and geographically.

It is thus not surprising that Quaker businessmen show a particular interest in the development of industrial relations in this mid-century period, since the new divisions and distinctions between capital and labour, the organisation of labour into skilled and supervisory staff on the one hand, unskilled and semiskilled workers on the other, together with the use of unfamiliar forms of labour (for example, large numbers of youths and girls) raised wholly new problems of management, and raised new possibilities of industrial conflict. Such developments undoubtedly also

posed new questions of social and business morality, beyond the familiar Quaker "thorns in the flesh" of profit and speculation, now that the employer appeared to be connected with his employees only by the cash nexus.

The Sturge brothers' approach to industrial relations epitomised the attempt to re-impose the atmosphere and relationships of a household on a highly profitable and successful business, employing a large number of workers at separate branches of their corn trade in Birmingham, Gloucester and Bristol:

Annually Sturge met his employees with their families at a social tea-party, often numbering between two and three hundred, at which they were addressed by himself and others on various subjects affecting their social, moral, and religious welfare.²⁶

Such paternalism echoed the class relations preached by the Fry-Gurney set. But it was paternalism applied to a large commercial organisation, an attempt to bind employees and employers together by one of several techniques which attempted to imitate and extend the rituals of the Quaker business household.

Richard Tapper Cadbury was known, for example, for the family prayers he conducted among his shop employees. But as his sons' chocolate manufacture expanded - first as a separate entity in premises behind Bull Street, then at the Bridge Street Works from 1847 where they employed several hundred - the necessity for paternalistic management increased, becoming a complete strategy for the development of industrial relations. An account of the Bridge Street Works in 1852 indicates the relatively new

development of the use of young female labour in packaging, a process not mechanised but carefully sub-divided, and the way in which the Cadbury's special brand of factory discipline provided a large-scale version of the more personal influences exercised in the household above the shop.

Savings schemes, teetotalism, evening school, well-regulated hours and a Saturday half-holiday massaged the realities of cheap labour and monotonous work. Employment relations were disguised and enacted as though they were family relations:

Instances of misconduct are rare, and when reproof is called for, it is administered by an appeal to the better feelings ... Factories conducted on such a system must be at once schools of morality and industry.²⁷

Good Quaker employers strove, then, to mitigate the sharpening divide between employer and employed, and to create a common sense of identity. A slightly younger employer like Arthur Albright might find the proselytising paternalism of a Sturge or Cadbury a little hard to take, but he adopted a similar strategy when he established his phosphorous works in the 1840s, inviting his key workers to a tea party in order to promote a savings scheme:

James Cadbury came in for a little while and made a little speech, friendly and courteous, which the men responded to. I thought to have been quite alone and feared to be embarrassed by any one else, but it passed off very fairly and we got pretty much at home and at ease with each other ... The affair was more effort in the projection than in the execution.²⁸

The purpose of such models of industrial relations - the binding of long-term skilled workers to company loyalty, the cultivation of an atmosphere of family discipline, religion, education and healthful

recreation for the unskilled and youthful workers - was certainly evident to contemporaries. As Henry Richard wrote of Joseph Sturge's record as an employer:

We need not ask whether he or they were familiar with "strikes". To them such things were known but by rumour; master and servant were bound together, not only by a common interest, but by warm reciprocal attachment ... 29

It is also clear that the techniques and strategies of such successful personnel management were shared among the networks of Quaker businessmen expanding their businesses and introducing new production methods.

Such strategies were undoubtedly also seen as an investment in the preservation of Birmingham's general social fabric, in the shoring up of the local tradition of harmonious class relations against a national backcloth of increasingly independent and vociferous working-class movements. Several leading Quaker businessmen were also directly involved in local politics, and clear connections can be seen between the development of business organisation which we have described, and the challenge to prevailing Whiggery made in the 1830s and 40s by particular Quaker employers.

Leading Friends had long been prominent in the various layers and networks of Birmingham politics.³⁰ Quaker arrivals in late eighteenth century Birmingham established a pattern of involvement in local politics, when banker Sampson Lloyd became a Street Commissioner on the newly-established Board in the 1770s, and its banker.³¹ Richard Tapper

Cadbury became an Overseer of the Poor in 1800, only six years after his establishment in Birmingham, and in 1822 became a Street Commissioner, remaining on this self-elected and oligarchic institution until its abolition in 1851, acting as its chairman from 1836. He was heavily involved also in the committees and boards of local hospitals and charities, and was, as a successful and well-established businessman, a respected member of the great and good of the city's developing civic institutions.³²

His son John pursued a similar course, becoming a Street Commissioner in 1829, acting as Chair of the Board's Steam Engine Committee and other sub-committees, and becoming an Overseer of the Poor. Though in many ways identifying with and continuing his father's Whiggish traditions, John Cadbury imbibed some of the culture of bourgeois liberalism in the 1830s and became a temperance activist. Inspired by the Preston-style zeal of mission to the working classes, he founded the Birmingham Auxiliary Temperance Society, and, with his second wife Candia and other Friends, developed local teetotal organisation - a campaign singularly in tune, of course, with his development and promotion of cocoa manufacture. His father went along with this trend reluctantly, being of the old-style temperance school of moderation (see Chapter IV). John's brother, Benjamin Head Cadbury, drew back from civic politics as such, but was active in the mid-nineteenth century Liberal causes of teetotalism, anti-slavery and anti-animal cruelty.³³

Joseph Sturge, establishing himself in Birmingham in the early 1820s, appears in many ways to have followed the political pattern already established by the previous generation of Friends, joining the Cadburys on

the Board of Street Commissioners by 1830. But already by the early 1830s, Sturge, his brother Charles and other younger generation Friends and new arrivals, were, as we have seen, developing new-style politics and campaigning, at odds with local Quaker Whig traditions. Both Joseph and Charles Sturge were members of Attwood's Birmingham Political Union by 1831, Joseph backing Liberal Parliamentary candidates at Bridgemoth and Bristol and campaigning for them, and helping to finance the radical newspaper, The Reformer.³⁴ Sturge's Birmingham-based Agency Committee break away from the Whiggish Anti-Slavery Society was - as previously described - a natural extension of these political commitments, as was his subsequent leadership of the apprenticeship campaign.

The Sturge brothers soon found their activities under attack in the local establishment press, on the spurious grounds that political activism infringed Quaker principles. A piece in the Birmingham Gazette of May, 1832, is cited in Henry Richard's biography of Sturge as evidence of Quaker hostility to political activism per se. But the Gazette was a Tory newspaper, and the Sturge brothers' reply indicates that they saw this as a clear political attack masquerading as a moral one, whereby young Friends who had recently joined the BPU were being advised not so much of their Quaker duties, but of their duty to be loyal to the status quo. Joseph and Charles Sturge maintained that they were among quite a group of young Friends who had become members of the Union, and argued that Quakers were as entitled - indeed duty-bound - to exercise their political rights as anyone else. "... The main object for which the Political Union was formed", they claimed, "and the sole object for which we have joined it, is one which nine-tenths of the members of our Society cordially approve ..."³⁵

Whether the Gazette attack originated with Friends or not is unclear, but the developments of the 1830s indicate that leading Quaker families and networks were subject to the same divisions which were affecting the Quaker community nationally, and which were, of course, splitting the Birmingham bourgeoisie as a whole, at this period. The Cadburys and Southalls, for example, identified on the whole with the old Whig-Tory connections, and were happy to ally themselves with Anglicans in the various power-bases they occupied, and on the Board of Street Commissioners as it grew in power and importance. Other Friends such as the Pumphreys, George Goodrick and Charles Lloyd on the other hand joined the Sturge brothers in challenging the old collusions, appearing in Dissenting, Liberal-Radical campaigns which took issue with the very power-base, style and alliances of fellow-Friends. The Agency Committee campaign, for example, or the Church Rates issue, led to meetings where the Street Commissioners' oligarchy was challenged, and younger Friends like the Sturge brothers made cause with local radical Dissent against unholy alliances of weighty Friends and the Anglican establishment.

A case which caused some furore among Birmingham civic circles, and undoubtedly among Friends as well, was that of the closure by the Street Commissioners of the public footpaths in St Philip's Churchyard in 1837. Charles Lloyd acted as spokesman for what became something of a cause celebre for local Liberals. He presented the closure as yet another instance of the Board's autocracy, its failure to defend the people's rights. He accused the Commissioners, under Richard Tapper Cadbury's chairmanship, of preferring to close the paths to the people, rather than getting the remote and non-accountable police force to protect the public's safety. Lloyd got up a petition which was duly rejected by the

Commissioners, thus reinforcing the case against their tyranny - even Parliament accepted the right of the people to petition governments, but in Birmingham citizens patently lacked the right to petition their local "government".

The radical Birmingham Journal reported the lengthy case with some relish, and was evidently intrigued by the divisions which it exposed among well-known, weighty and wealthy Friends. It was particularly delighted to play up the hurt dignity of Quaker Whiggery, as it resisted upstart Quaker Radicalism. Street Commissioner John Cadbury claimed that it was not the practice of the Board to receive petitions, and turned on Lloyd with some scorn:

before the discussion was closed he had one word to say. He was sorry to see, by the newspapers, the name of an individual affixed to a letter, containing very improper language towards the Commissioners. He had known the ancestor of that person, and for him he had the highest respect. His father was a most respectable man, and he was sorry on that account that the person had put his name to the letter. He had called the Commissioners "flagitious", a most improper term, and he had spoken of sickly cant.³⁶

The St Philip's Churchyard issue became one of the causes on which Birmingham Liberals based their demands for a Town Council. On this and other issues, it was claimed, the Commissioners had proved themselves to be unaccountable and undemocratic, loyal to the town's establishment, rather than to the increasingly significant manufacturing and business class.

As the Incorporation campaign began in earnest in the Spring of 1837, through the columns of the Birmingham Journal, other local issues also took on the aura of the larger political battle, and of political re-alignments

at work. The election of Poor Law Guardians of March, 1837, for example, provided an opportunity for a new form of party caucusing, as middle-class liberal interests strove to defeat Tory-Whig complicity. The Birmingham Journal drew up a "blue list" of recommended Reform candidates, headed by the darlings of BPU radicalism, Thomas Attwood, R. K. Douglas (Journal editor) and P. H. Muntz. The Whigs drew up a rival "Green" list, protesting at the extremism of the Blue one, ousting Douglas, Attwood and Muntz from their slate but including stalwart Quaker names such as Benjamin and John Cadbury, and James Southall. The result was a split in the Whig Liberal vote which, amidst mutual accusations and recriminations, allowed the Tories to win the majority on the Board of Guardians.³⁷

Such a debacle indicated the problems for Birmingham bourgeois radicalism of seeking to detach itself from its old Whig coat-tails without also ensuring the support and thrust of wider alliances through the city's artisans. Economic and political developments added special urgency to the situation: 1837 was a year of growing depression, squeeze on profits and short-time working. Nationally, working-class mass movements were developing - it would be a matter of time before Birmingham working-class radicalism, already being nurtured by local Owenite and proto-socialist propaganda, detached itself completely from middle-class leadership and developed into an independent movement.³⁸

Naturally, the middle-class Radicals looked to the old apparatus of the Birmingham Political Union to help reconstitute the alliances of the Reform Bill campaign. The Birmingham Journal reported a series of meetings of the Reform Association during the spring of 1837, a hitherto small organisation formed in 1836 out of the ashes of the defunct BPU, and

recorded that the movement's former leaders were calling for the Union's revival. There was a particular and pressing need to re-affirm and reconstitute the special class alliance of the Reform movement, Muntz told his audience. A new united front of the middle and working classes, of businessmen and respectable workingmen was needed: classes united in their economic interdependence, in their mutual suffering under economic depression, and in their call for adequate political representation of their interests.³⁹

On April 29th, 1837, the middle-class leaders of the duly reconstituted BPU organised a special meeting for "respectable working men", and in June, Thomas Clutton Salt proposed that working-class representatives should be included on the Committee of the already rapidly growing Union.⁴⁰ Though advocating only household suffrage at this point, the new BPU carried the flag for a new formulation of class alliance. With its reconstitution and the development of the closely-linked Incorporation campaign, a vociferous section of Birmingham's middle classes signalled an end to their traditional treaty with the Whig establishment, and turned to the securing of the leadership of an alliance which they hoped to shape more constructively to their interests.

Charles Sturge participated in the re-founding of the BPU, and was at once a member of its new Council.⁴¹ But Joseph Sturge was away in the West Indies from November, 1836, until May, 1837, travelling on behalf of the Apprenticeship Campaign.⁴² He arrived back in Birmingham to find the Incorporation campaign hotting up under the direction of the BPU. Incorporation campaign meetings centred on the organisation of a petition to Parliament, and campaign leaders included not only the Sturge brothers,

but Charles Lloyd, who was a member of the delegation which presented the petition to the Minister at the end of 1837.⁴³

Birmingham's Charter was eventually issued in November, 1838, a momentous year in the development of political movements. The BPU's middle-class leadership was anxious to retain power in an increasingly volatile situation, and succeeded in placing its stamp on the publication of the People's Charter in November, 1838, the very month of Incorporation, despite growing tensions within the suffrage movement, and despite the already extant O'Connorite jibes of "sham radicals".⁴⁴

Incorporation itself left the oligarchic powers of the Street Commissioners untouched, and restricted local democracy to a tiny minority of middle-class business interests, thus mirroring the betrayal of the 1832 Reform Act. Yet the BPU Radicals strove to present it as a victory for reform, and drew up a list of approved candidates to take the town by storm. Elections took place in December. The complete list of 48 Radicals and Liberals was returned, including 18 former or current members of the BPU Council. William Scholefield of the Council became mayor, while Journal editor Douglas became Registrar. Joseph Sturge was elected as Radical candidate for St Thomas' Ward, while Charles Sturge was returned as Radical candidate for Edgbaston Ward, defeating fellow-Quaker Richard Tapper Cadbury, now identified as a Tory. On the establishment of the Town Council, Sturge was further elected Alderman by his fellow-councillors.⁴⁵

The new Town Council's restricted powers and narrow electoral base revealed the hollowness of the Radicals' claims to challenge the old Birmingham "aristocracy". The Council was led by another version of the

Street Commissioners' economic elite of merchants and bankers, though the bulk of its members were smaller manufacturers and tradesmen. Its powers were minimal, all real local government powers remaining with the Street Commissioners, who also retained control over the selection of magistrates and the police.⁴⁶

The Town Council was a paper tiger, but nevertheless a potent weapon for political propaganda. It conducted a running battle with the Street Commissioners over many now classic issues, including that of St Philip's Churchyard. Radicalism had become legitimised in the form of the Town Council, but the Street Commissioners continued to view the opposition as irritant subversives. Richard Tapper Cadbury, Chairman of the Board, led the Commissioners' attack on the St Philip's issue:

He deeply regretted that so much tenacity should be shown by certain parties who thought fit to oppose so great an improvement in the town ... The opposition had been carried on with continued pertinacity for many years ... 47

The Birmingham Journal went to town in ridiculing the Quaker defender of the establishment:

Mr Richard Tapper Cadbury seems to have worked himself into a most unseemly state of agitation on Monday, at the Commissioners' meeting, on Mr Hutton's intimating that he would take an opportunity of mentioning ... Mr Cadbury's attack on the town council at the first meeting of that body. Mr C. flared up ... like a tallow dip, four to the pound. "You threatened me! Now I tell that person, that I am careless what may be said of me by the council or any persons, or any body of persons - such threats uttered by him, or by any one else, I despise!" We have heard of a tempest in a teapot, but this is a storm in a cream jug. Mr Cadbury, a staid gentleman and elderly, a teetotaler, and a Friend, to be frightened from his propriety, and to clamour in no milder mood than if he were an imbibor of intoxicating liquors, and one of the wicked Radicals! To what will this

world come?⁴⁸

To Whigs like the Cadburys, the Town Council was blatantly exploiting its position for political purposes, toasting the Charter at its incorporation dinner, organising meetings against the Corn Laws at the Town Hall, providing a platform for "dissidents" like Sturge to attack the Government over police powers. The Council was a painful thorn in the side of Birmingham Whigs who felt that its Liberalism was like an "enemy within", bruisingly betraying the Whig Ministry: a body incapable of being trusted with direct responsibility and power: a bunch of extremists who had ensured that the Council's appointed officers also shared their political views.⁴⁹

1839, which saw the actual inauguration and development of the Town Council, was of course a watershed for radical politics. The full emergence of the Chartist movement with the opening of the Convention in London in February, 1839, provided a catalyst for tensions endemic in Birmingham radicalism, not only between working-class and middle-class elements in the BPU, but among middle-class radicals also. BPU delegates attended the opening meetings of the Convention, but with some trepidation at the growing influence of the O'Connorites - "We augur well on the whole," said the Birmingham Journal revealingly.⁵⁰ The Birmingham-organised and inspired Chartist Petition seemed to be failing, while at home, middle-class control of the BPU Council was being effectively challenged by working-class radicals more in sympathy with the real thrust of Chartism. Journal Editor Douglas chaired one of the opening meetings of the Convention, yet by March, the BPU delegates had withdrawn in protest, to be replaced by more authentic radicals. On April

9th, 1839, the BPU Council met for the last time, signifying the departure of middle-class radicalism from alliance with a working-class movement it could no longer control, and more honest identification with bourgeois economic and political interests: the "Steam Aristocracy", as O'Connor's Northern Star had it. The BPU as such was now dissolved and merged into Chartism.⁵¹ Its child, the Town Council, was now exposed to rigorous testing as the result of this break-up of inter-class alliance.

In May, 1839, the Chartist Convention moved by rail to Birmingham. Thousands met the Convention train, according to the Northern Star report of May 18th, and a procession of trades banners escorted the Chartist leadership - O'Brien, Lowery, Lovett, Harney, and so on - to the town centre. The Journal ostensibly welcomed the Convention: "on Birmingham ... the leaders of the Convention must fall back, if they mean to do anything effective. It is the heart of England, and it is the head of England also." It went on to develop this strong vein of caution into overt warning: "There is no event that the Tories would hail with more eager acclaim than a riot in Birmingham."⁵²

As the Birmingham Convention began on May 14th, the town seethed with mass meetings and demonstrations, expressive of a separate and autonomous working-class movement, at odds with BPU tradition and deeply-threatening to middle-class security. Former BPU leaders like Attwood, Muntz and Salt continued to warn against O'Connorite and Stephens-style incitements to violence, and tried to rally lost support to their tried and tested leadership, proposing again to work for the unity of "the middle and working classes, in order to carry out the great principles contained in the National Petition."⁵³ The Northern Star warned in response that

Chartists should beware the enemy in sheep's clothing, the cunning strategy of accommodation to reform. It is a familiar device, said the Star, that when radical change is proposed, "A juste milieu party immediately springs into existence, seeking to merge popular opinion into expedient compromise, and to rest all that has been done in new trustees ..."⁵⁴ At a mass demonstration in Birmingham at the end of May, Kirkhoff lost no time in attacking the Whigs, but he attacked ex-BPU "Sham Radicals" still more virulently, as worse than Whigs.⁵⁵

Thus by mid-1839, a major political realignment of Birmingham's leaders had taken place. Already, several Town Councillors had expressed disquiet over the Corporation's radical political profile - by June, their essentially identical economic interests with the Street Commissioners' party were becoming clearer. A ban was imposed on public meetings in the central Bull Ring area - demonstrations and mass meetings had now to be held on the edge of town, at Holloway Head. Mayor P. H. Muntz, former BPU leader, moved in conjunction with the Board's appointee magistrates to impose the ban to prevent public nuisance. The people were scared, he argued: scare the middle-classes, he warned, and you will get no reforms.⁵⁶

The Chartist leadership responded accordingly. Their case against co-operation with middle-class radicalism had been proved. "You have sought assistance from the middle-classes," said the Northern Star on the 15th June, "but they have shrunk from your approach."

Town Hall meetings were now continually disrupted by Chartist demonstrators protesting about the loss of the right to assemble, to the alarm of the Birmingham Journal. Once sympathetic middle-class radicals

clearly now felt silent agreement for the old-style Whiggery of John Cadbury, who, at a meeting of the Street Commissioners castigated the Chartist leadership:

"leave your leaders, return to your homes, and make use of the good sense with which Providence has endowed you. Then you will have happy homes, and despise the counsels of those by whom, for some years, you have been misled ..." He was satisfied the meetings held in the Bull Ring did great injury to the town. Of his own knowledge, families, rather than travel through the town, went round about to avoid it; and he also knew that others slept at a distance, rather than sleep in Birmingham. He hoped the work people would speedily desert their false leaders.⁵⁷

Quite clearly, John Cadbury felt that he spoke for the whole commercial community.

In the week of July 6th, the mass demonstrations, balked by the ban on public assembly, erupted into the Bull Ring riots. At the instigation of Mayor Muntz, the Riot Act was read, martial law was declared, and Metropolitan Police were rushed by train to perform as "bludgeon men".⁵⁸ Chartist leaders Taylor, Lovett, Collins and Harney were arrested. The first of the confrontations which were to deal Chartism a devastating blow, and to divide it, had taken place. It was rapidly followed by the debacle of the Sacred Month demonstrations in August, the Newport Rising in November, and a whole series of arrests and accelerating repression.

The riots provided the perfect opportunity for the Town Council and Birmingham Journal radicals publicly to end all avowed support for the Chartist movement. Hostility between the Chartist and ex-BPU leadership now seemed absolute. In the Northern Star's view, the riots were caused by the Radicals' betrayal - their violent martial suppression of the

disturbances was clear proof of that. A mayor could be elected on a radical ticket, a Council could toast the Charter, but when it came to the crunch, these Radicals became the henchmen of their Whig masters without a qualm.

For the Birmingham Journal, on the other hand, the riots were evidence of the total irresponsibility of the prevailing Chartist leadership:

why congregate in the public streets for the purpose of expressing grievances? Why needlessly alarm and offend the inhabitants of the town? Has the cause of Radical Reform too many friends, that the chance of alienating a portion of them is to be so lightly hazarded?

It was the Chartists who were responsible for the irreparable rift between middle class and working class radicalism:

the middle classes are everywhere represented, by the Convention orators, as the enemies of the working classes. No greater falsehood was ever uttered, as far as Birmingham is concerned. The middle classes of Birmingham - the higher middle classes - return to Parliament two of the best and staunchest Radical representatives in the Kingdom. But grant the middle classes to be as hostile as they are represented - will alarming them, will irritating them, will injuring them in their business, make them less so?⁵⁹

From being a strong voice for the developing suffrage movement during 1838, the Birmingham Journal had shifted to representing only the radicalism of a caucus of Birmingham's ruling interests. The paper actually defended the magistrates' action in calling in the Metropolitan Police - the London police were all the better for not being local, it argued.⁶⁰

It is against this background of new and apparently total class

antagonism between Birmingham's employers and employed, between Birmingham's tarnished Radicals and the wider Chartist movement, that Sturge's vocal stand against Government proposals to direct and control the town's police must be seen. The Whig administration's decision to oppose the establishment of a local police force, under the control of a politically suspect Council, provided the opportunity for a gesture of conciliation between the former allies. In August, 1839, the Corporation moved a petition of opposition to the Government proposals to run Birmingham's police from London, a petition aimed at the House of Lords. Sturge was among the most active leaders of this campaign, intriguingly at the very time when he was busy nurturing a different kind of political conciliation with Quaker anti-slavery "Whigs", through the formation of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Indeed, he had been objecting to moves to centralise the police as early as April. "The police would be formed like a standing army, he had warned, and the "popular voice" would be unable to be "raised peacable in the face of it."⁶¹

In the autumn and winter of 1839/40, Sturge and other councillors were urging the Corporation to refuse to raise the local rates necessary to pay for a Government-controlled police force. It was time for people to take a stand against "further encroachments upon their liberties", Sturge argued. The experience of the still-present Metropolitan Police had proved how ruthless such a "standing army" could be.⁶² Foolishly the Government had created an issue on which it seemed middle-class Radicalism might be able to offer a hand of conciliation to the Chartists, smoothing temporarily over the fundamental cracks. "It is not only the unrepresented or the Chartists ... who talk of opposing the law, but those who are represented in Parliament, and possess authority in Corporations,"

commented the Northern Star wryly.⁶³

In the late summer of 1839, Sturge also proposed that the Council set up an Inquiry to investigate the cause of the recent riots. The Inquiry opened on September 3rd with Sturge himself in the chair. To his mind, the Inquiry formed a central part in the campaign against the Government's plans to establish a fixed "civil military force, unconnected with the inhabitants."⁶⁴

The apparent unity of opposition to the Birmingham Police Bill merely masked the fundamental rifts between Birmingham's middle and working-classes, however, rifts which Sturge evidently viewed with particular fear and despair. "I am sorry to say", he wrote to a friend and relative, "that amongst some of the middle and higher class with us there is a feeling almost as bitter towards the working classes as there was towards the slave by the slaveowners."⁶⁵ The events of the summer had simply exposed and sharpened the great sense of alienation of "the great mass of the working classes", in his view. Government might suppress public opinion for a time, but those with power and influence must be aware that "they were trading on a smothered volcano."⁶⁶ Sturge's public stand on the police issue was a classic radical attack on Government centralism but also very consciously an attempt to do something to help heal those rifts locally. In an internal party struggle concerning the continued mayorship of P. H. Muntz, Sturge cast his lot with those who opposed Muntz for his handling of the riots.⁶⁷ His chairmanship of the Riot Inquiry was rewarded by an invitation in November from the Birmingham Female Political Union to support the cause of radical suffrage - the Union had shown itself thoroughly alienated from Town Council "radicalism" only a few months

before.⁶⁸

At the end of November, Sturge took a leading part in a meeting of working-class protesters about the Police Bill, while many of his Council colleagues held aloof. That he was highly alert to the need to deflect and diffuse opposition is evident in the way he handled an amendment put at the meeting to support the extension of the franchise: he succeeded in heading it off by offering to pay for a separate suffrage meeting instead. His speech attacked the Police Bill as one of a series of measures which would have the effect of alienating the great mass of the working class. He spoke of the duties of the privileged to advocate the rights of the poorest:

The severe censure cast upon the middle orders of society for their want of sympathy with the working classes, at some of the numerous meetings which had been held, had produced an effect which both concerned and alarmed him ...⁶⁹

He warned both sides not to move further in the direction of such alienation.

Sturge's strategy of class conciliation at this time is intriguing, for although he and his brothers had been early supporters of the revived BPU, the bourgeois assertiveness of the Incorporation campaign, anti-slavery and the budding Anti-Corn Law movement - actually attacked as diversionary in 1838 by the Birmingham Journal⁷⁰ - was most characteristic of their style. "Rapprochement" was, indeed, very much an offspring of an emphatically bourgeois Liberalism,⁷¹ born out of the tactics and ideology of the Total Abstinence movement, and from personal cultivation and Quaker nurturing of harmonious industrial relations at a period of radical change in

production, as well as the former tactics of the BPU. It was also built around a fundamental Liberal Radical principle of resistance to bureaucratic intervention and centralism over the policing issue. Nevertheless, that strategy was now very much out of step with the prevailing mood of Birmingham's "radical" middle-class leadership. By the spring of 1840, the Journal and Corporation leadership had become virulent in their attacks on "extreme Chartism", and ardent in their support for the Anti-Corn Law League. When the report on the Bull Ring riots was published in May, many councillors wanted its circulation restricted in order to suppress the Chartists' case. Sturge, on the other hand - simultaneously fighting a rearguard action against Garrisonite radicalism within the anti-slavery movement - won publication by threatening to print the Report at his own expense, vigorously opposing any negotiation with the Government over the town's Charter until the Police Bill was withdrawn. This was in sharp contrast to the more sanguine views of the Bill now voiced by some of his Liberal colleagues.⁷²

But the most potent symbol of Sturge's eagerness to prevent complete working-class alienation from faith in middle-class political leadership was his abortive candidacy for the radical nomination for the Birmingham Parliamentary seat, on Attwood's resignation in December, 1839. Sturge was nominated as the "authentic" Radical candidate, as against G. F. Muntz's tainted radicalism. He was immediately hailed by the Northern Star, eager for any weapon with which to beat the traitor Liberals:

Mr Sturge is opposed to the unconstitutional police force, or, to speak more properly, the "bludgeon men" ... forced upon us by an unprincipled government against the wishes of the great majority of the inhabitants.⁷³

But he was bitterly derided by The Birmingham Journal which, only a year or two earlier, had happily applauded him for his philanthropy and campaigning. Now Muntz was their "unflinching Reformer", whilst Sturge's political virility was put in doubt:⁷⁴ "we do not think Mr Sturge a proper man to legislate for the great community ..."⁷⁵ The Journal accused Sturge and his supporters - mounting a thoroughly unexceptionable Liberal Nonconformist campaign, apart from the suspect inclusion of a moderate extension of the suffrage⁷⁶ - of dividing the Radical camp. His immediate withdrawal was demanded: "There is neither merit nor fame, in standing up merely to be knocked down."⁷⁷ In the event, Sturge withdrew in favour of Muntz, who was duly elected.

Following the debacle of his attempted candidacy, Sturge's anti-slavery activities took priority, with the World Convention in June, 1840, and his trip to the United States in the summer of 1841. During that period the class politics which he and other Birmingham employers feared developed ominously, the Corporation remaining steadfastly aloof from conciliation. But there was promising potential in the emerging structures of post-1839 Chartism for those concerned to reassert old-BPU style reformism, in opposition to the mass movement which the National Charter Association threatened. O'Connorite Chartism was assertive in Birmingham, under the leadership of George White. But a new Chartist Church had emerged in late 1840, under the leadership of Arthur O'Neill.⁷⁸ Christian Chartism shared the political and class identity of the NCA, yet it was already despised by the Northern Star for its diversionary character, sharing suspicion with other strands of Chartism crystallising around the various leaders as they were released from jail in 1840 and 1841: Vincent and Lowery's "Teetotal Chartism", Lovett's "New Move".⁷⁹ In

William Lovett and Birmingham John Collins' Chartism, such Liberals as Sturge saw hope of reviving and recreating former alignments. Was not the first aim of their National Association, "To establish in one general body of all creeds, classes, and opinions all those who are desirous to promote the political and social improvement of the people"?⁸⁰

Middle-class pressure groups and caucusing had also developed during 1840-41. The Anti-Corn Law League was nurturing a strong, urban manufacturing lobby, and its aggressive and assertively bourgeois voice now characterised bodies like Birmingham Town Council. Yet till now it had remained tied to the coat-tails of Whiggery. The General Election of July, 1841, when the Tories swept the board appeared to many Liberal-Radicals to at last free their lobby from loyalty to the Whigs, and to herald a new era of middle-class political upsurge. "The middle classes have now to unlearn all the fond and foolish notions they entertain of Whig statesmanship and patriotism", Edward Miall wrote in The Nonconformist on July 14th, following the election. The few Radicals remaining in Parliament must work "to form the nucleus of an independent party ... Above all, we trust they will stand clear of Whig influences ... They must nail their colours to the mast, and take for their motto 'no surrender'. They will gradually grow powerful ..."

The question Miall, Sturge and indeed John Bright raised, however, was whether middle-class radicalism was sufficient to assault the bastions of landed governmental power independently, or whether the "brickbat" of working-class support was not also needed. In which case, was the obvious sweetener - the extension of the suffrage - now too tainted in the public eye with the threat of "mob rule" and the vision of "keen-eyed

demagogues"?⁸¹ Or would overtures to a carefully defined section of Chartism bring with them not only a more successful assault on the bastions of power, but the division and deflection of the militant labour movement?

Miall's Nonconformist, begun April 1841, voiced this new formulation of the old BPU line in style, backed by the Sturge brothers. His series of editorials and articles in October and November, 1841, headed "Reconciliation between the Middle and the Labouring Classes," were aimed particularly at the Anti-Corn Law League leadership, due to meet in Manchester for a Deputies Conference in November. The articles urged them to abandon the single-issue, single-class campaign, and to pursue an "organic reform" movement to rout the aristocracy: "Now for one master-mind and lion-heart to take the lead - and seizing upon the banner of COMPLETE SUFFRAGE, to summon all classes to one mighty effort for freedom!"⁸²

The Nonconformist's carefully orchestrated campaign was intended to build up to the special meeting called by Sturge at the end of the Deputies' Conference, to consider League involvement in the wider issue of franchise extension, despite the failure of the not dissimilar Leeds-led lobby. Astutely, Sturge had called on the politically ambidextrous Francis Place to chair the meeting, thus establishing symbolic links with both middle-class radicalism, and the London working-class radicalism of Lovett's group. Bright, Prentice and Crawford were enlisted as supporters, further League Conventions at Edinburgh, Glasgow and London were again used as springboards for the new strategy, and the "Complete Suffrage" initiative was launched, with the publication and circulation of Sturge's "Declaration".⁸³

Back on their home territory in Birmingham, Sturge and his brother Charles christened the new move by attending the first anniversary soiree of the Christian Chartists on December 28th. Sturge addressed the gathering, which was chaired by John Collins. Referring to Lovett and Collins' Chartism with respect, he carefully staked out the ground on which overtures could begin. He told his audience that he was

"much gratified by the manner in which the questions of education, temperance, and peace had been dwelt upon" in that manifesto, "as the quiet and legitimate means by which alone the liberties of the people could be legitimately secured; for himself, he was firmly persuaded that the most powerful combinations of class legislature upon earth could not long oppress a people who had received an enlightened and Christian education and who were always temperate and peaceable". (Cheers)⁸⁴

The Complete Suffrage Association established its organisation the following month with a Provisional Committee firmly based in Birmingham, chaired by Sturge. Quaker phosphorous manufacturer and radical Arthur Albright, one of Sturge's Edgbaston neighbours, acted as secretary, while Charles Sturge and fellow-Friend George Goodrick were among its members.⁸⁵ Overtures were made to Lovett's National Association at a meeting held in London on February 11th, 1842, and sympathetic Chartists were approached to collect signatures for the Declaration.⁸⁶ But the main thrust of the campaign was to elicit middle-class support through the networks of the Anti-Corn Law League, the anti-slavery movement, Dissenting and Quaker circles, philanthropic organisations. "I have turned my attention seriously to getting that part of the religious philanthropic public who do not commonly mix in politics, to take the subject up, and the result has been most encouraging", Sturge wrote to Place in February. It was on the basis of Liberal middle-class consent that the next step of seeking the

co-operation of "the larger industrial portion of our countrymen" would be taken.⁸⁷

Local provisional committees in other towns and cities began to be established using those Quaker, philanthropic and Liberal networks in the spring of 1842, with particular success in Edinburgh and Glasgow, where Chartism was at its most moderate.⁸⁸ In Birmingham, the CSA received open hostility from the O'Connorites, suspicious and grudging support from the Christian Chartists.⁸⁹ The moderate English Chartist Circular noted the launch of the Complete Suffrage movement with interest and carried the Nonconformist's "Reconciliation" articles, but warned its readers that there must be no compromise, no sacrifice of the Charter:

the middle classes must not expect us to go over to them: if they desire a reconciliation, they must come over to us. There can be nothing like a compromise. To talk about a combined agitation for 'a Repeal of the Corn Laws and Complete Suffrage,' will avail, and ought to avail, not a jot. It must be nothing less than 'the Charter, and the abolition of all unjust monopolies,' commercial, social, and political ... We are disposed to think well of the Nonconformist, and Mr Sturge's wish to bring about a 'reconciliation between the middle and the working classes' - but the means proposed by them appear to us rather calculated to widen than to close the breach - still further to exasperate than to reconcile. They profess anxiety to remove prejudice - yet pander to the prejudices of one class ...⁹⁰

That the CSU was a League "front" was also made clear to its readers. The National Association Gazette, though more sympathetic, also warned against middle-class diversionary tactics in favour of the Anti-Corn Law movement. Let the middle classes come to us, asserted its editorial for January 8th, 1842.

During the spring, the Birmingham Provisional Committee planned an

inaugural conference for the national movement, to be held in Birmingham in April. The Nonconformist had declared itself the official organ of the movement, and carried regular intelligence of its provincial development. The April Conference was intended as a historic meeting of inter-class radicalism: O'Brien and Lovett were asked to join the Provisional Committee to plan the arrangements, and a delegation from the National Association was invited.⁹¹ O'Connor countered by organising an NCA Conference in Birmingham to coincide, so that moderate Chartists would have to choose where their loyalties lay: "The Sturge move is to include the Whigs generally", the Star sneered, "the Attwoodites, the Corn Law Repealers, the Christian Chartists ... and certain other scabby sheep that will infect the flock."⁹² The Nonconformist retaliated in turn, warning that any disruption to the Conference would be on the heads of the Chartists.⁹³

In the event, over one hundred delegates attended, representatives of fifty-one towns and cities. The Chartist contingent numbered nine former members of the first Chartist Convention, including Collins, O'Brien, Lovett, Vincent, Lowery, Neeson and Parry, but O'Connorites and those from the heart of the movement as it had developed since the formation of the NCA were notably absent. Middle-class Liberalism dominated and controlled the proceedings, its delegates including Sharman Crawford, Prentice, Bright, Miall, and Birmingham Quakers Albright, Josiah Pumphrey, George Goodrick, together with the Quaker Clarks of Street, James Webb from Dublin, Isaac Grubb from Oxford.⁹⁴

Sturge took the chair, proposed by Lovett, his fellow Birmingham philanthropist William Morgan acting as Conference secretary. This was to be an alliance against the abuse of power, proclaimed Sturge in his

opening address: the mutual enemy was aristocratic tyranny. Edward Miall set the Conference's face against "the meddling of legislation", and was joined in this sentiment by a Godwinised Henry Vincent. The Conference arrangements committee had thus intended to set the agenda, and shift the ground away from the taint of Chartism. The Chartist contingent, however, ensured that one by one the Six Points of the Charter were agreed in all but name. Lovett then proposed that at their next conference which would discuss a new Reform Bill, the Charter itself should be laid on the table. Edward Miall and others moved quickly to neutralise the move, the Reverend Spencer of Bath underlining the tight Liberal confines within which middle-class radicalism was prepared to do business:

If I had wished to become a Chartist, I could have done so ... My only fear of the Chartist body is, the danger of over-legislation. I think the fewer laws that are made the better. I desire Complete Suffrage, because I wish to see Laws destroyed. I am of opinion that a proper parliament will not meddle with anything but the protection of person and property; the maintenance of peace abroad, and all our commercial relations at home; that parliament ought not to meddle with religion - with charity or with education (hear, hear) ... It is on this account that I am not for jumping wholesale into the Charter ...⁹⁵

He proposed that the Charter should not be considered or named further, and Lovett and his colleagues were forced to effectively withdraw their proposal. The ground was to be chosen by the middle-class leadership, or not at all.⁹⁶

The April Conference formally constituted the CSU as a national body, though still Birmingham-dominated, and working - with an eye to the Corresponding Societies legislation - in reality as a loose federation of local societies.⁹⁷ A General Council of forty-eight members was

established as the CSU's governing body, chaired by Sturge, and containing some fourteen Birmingham members. But real power - as with Sturge's other main organisation, the hierarchical BFASS - rested in the small General Purposes Committee which met weekly, very tightly controlled by Sturge and his officers William Morgan and Arthur Albright. Though the General Council included Lovett, Vincent, Neeson, Mitchell, Parry and Collins, only the latter was Birmingham-based. Moreover, their somewhat different shades of Chartism were more than matched by the benevolent mafia of Sturge and his brother, his fellow-Quakers Bright, Webb, Albright and Goodrick, and other colleagues in anti-slavery, anti-Corn Law and temperance.⁹⁸

Sturge was determined to steer the CSU clear of Chartism itself and of mass politics. All moves by John Collins to widen the appeal and decision-making apparatus of the CSU were blocked.⁹⁹ The Union's new band of missionaries, headed by Vincent, Unitarian minister Henry Solly and Samuel Smiles, was forbidden to speak to gatherings other than those of the CSU, and temperance was to be a constant plank of their message.¹⁰⁰ All attention was to be focussed on the movement's parliamentary representative Sharman Crawford, and away from the rival Chartist Petition. Indeed, already the April Conference had done its work in helping to undermine Chartist solidarity. The National Chartist Convention which followed close on the heels of the CSU Conference was rife with accusations of collusion with the CSU, as well as conflicts over the "New Move". Mainstream Chartism took the CSU refusal to postpone its parliamentary campaign until after the Chartist Petition had been presented as evidence of the way in which the middle classes only wanted to swallow Chartism in order to spew it out.¹⁰¹

The CSU seized the opportunity presented by a series of by-elections in the summer of 1842 to create a platform for Complete Suffrage principles, Sturge standing in well-radicalised Nottingham, and backed vigorously and not without black humour by O'Connor, as well as by Vincent's rousing rhetoric:¹⁰² Vincent at Ipswich;¹⁰³ George Thompson at Southampton.¹⁰⁴ The missionary tours were also proving successful in the establishment of local associations, particularly in Scotland, the North and Midlands.¹⁰⁵

The "Plug Plot" disturbances of August, 1842, broke the momentum and spread panic among the CSU leaders. It seemed difficult to see how the taint of Chartism would escape them now as local associates like O'Neill were arrested on charges of seditious conspiracy. Sturge acted to divert violence in Birmingham, a special conference to review the situation was planned, defensive and disclaiming addresses to Queen and electors were published.¹⁰⁶ Probably the CSU General Purposes Committee were relieved to receive only three resignations from middle-class representatives.¹⁰⁷ In the event, the special conference was abandoned but energies were now consciously redoubled to channel the campaign steadily and clearly into a parliamentary lobby, and into hustings tactics, where the arena was defined by the limits of the franchise. Arthur Albright helped to mastermind a clear national network of political organisation, the country being divided into ten districts, each with its own corresponding superintendent. They were given the new aim of fielding candidates in the local elections - sixteen CSU candidates were elected in the Birmingham Town Council elections of November, 1842, including Albright himself and George Goodrick. Sturge and Albright also boosted the missionary work of their colleagues by embarking on a major tour of Scotland, the North and North-East.¹⁰⁸

Such campaigning paved the way for the Conference planned for December, 1842, which would consider a new Reform Bill. It was ostensibly to be a joint Conference of middle and working classes, its ironically equal delegations of electors and non-electors symbolising the dominant approach of the CSU. During November and December, news reached the General Purposes Committee of considerable gerrymandering of delegates' elections, in the Chartist attempt to secure a majority. The atmosphere was heightened by the aftermath of the Plug Plots, the hardening of positions, the arrest and pending trial of leading Chartists. O'Connor secured one of the Birmingham nominations; John Bright to the relief of Chartists and middle-class colleagues alike, resigned in exasperation some three weeks before the Conference opened.¹⁰⁹

The December Conference was an important and disastrous event in the history of working-class politics, and, despite appearances, something of a triumph for middle-class hegemony : the "Great Sturge Conference", as Thomas Cooper called it.¹¹⁰ Over 400 delegates gathered, meeting significantly in the Birmingham Mechanics' Institute which the CSU had recently taken over from a rump of Owenite socialists and radicals. Now the aim was to provide only "healthful food" for a respectable working-class at play.¹¹¹

The Conference atmosphere seethed with dispute over delegates' credentials, but this time the Chartists had the clear majority, and NCA members were very firmly present. Evidently, the CSU was perceived as a real threat to the stability and solidarity of the Chartist movement, and its attempted emasculation was worth pursuing. Sturge was in the chair, Morgan again his secretary. The CSU's own Bill of Rights was tabled as

the sole agenda for the Conference, unseen even by the CSU's Chartist allies. The Charter itself was not to be considered - "we soon found that it was determined to keep poor Chartists 'at arm's length'", wrote Cooper. Rising on the crest of anger of the working-class delegates, Lovett accused the CSU leadership of "unmanly secrecy", and proposed that the Charter be considered, or nothing. Tumult erupted, but it was like a pre-rehearsed ritual. Sturge proposed, with regret, to retreat to the Temperance Hall with those who were like-minded to complete the scheduled business of the Conference. "An independent Quaker", from the Isle of Wight, protested and said he would not withdraw. The Rev. Henry Solly of Yeovil, one of the movement's missionaries, also refused to withdraw. "And Arthur O'Neill, though no O'Connorite, stuck by us ...", recorded Cooper. "Henry Vincent, with his characteristic modesty, never opened his lips in the Conference, and with his proverbial attachment to respectability, withdrew with the Complete Suffrage party."¹¹²

The December Conference held peculiar significance that was recognised at the time. On the one hand, it marked the real end to the CSU itself, though its parliamentary lobby campaign continued quite vigorously in 1843, centred on Crawford's filibustering strategy.¹¹³ Electoral campaigns and local associations survived until 1845/6 when the organisation became defunct. But middle-class radicalism now in the main had other causes to fight, more distinctly and clearly middle-class - Graham's Factory Bill, for example, the Anti-State Church movement, the Anti-Corn Law campaign - and these gained prominence in the wake of the CSU's decline as The British Friend's preoccupations demonstrate. The CSU seemed patently to have failed. It had never succeeded in getting more than minority middle-class support, even in Birmingham - hence, doubtless, the prominence of Quakers

and other Sturge-ite companions in the movement, though just as radicalism had divided Birmingham Quakers in the 1830s, so just as evidently did CSU issues divide and test the "liberalism" of Friends elsewhere.

The Nonconformist, however, saw the true significance of the December Conference in an editorial that combined bitterness with triumph. The attempt by the Chartists to force the Charter on their middle-class friends smacked of tyranny, of "creed", of "Act of Uniformity", claimed Miall. The Charter was, unfortunately,

tainted with an unpleasant odour. It smells too strongly of insurrectionary violence - of Sheffield pikes, and hand-grenades - of Monmouth risings, and Birmingham riots - of obstruction offered to public meetings - of Northern Star anti-free trade diatribes - of coarse ribaldry - of insolent tyranny - of profanity and irreligion - to commend it to the reception of the great body of electors ... We see no good reason why the complete suffrage movement should present itself to public notice in this ragged and offensive historical garment; or why it should voluntarily set a feather in its cap associations, which the sooner they are put out of sight the better. They who wish to attract attention to jewels, do not usually throw them upon dunghills.

To us, it has been long evident that the movement of Mr Sturge... must, of necessity, before it could make a successful appeal to the calm and enlightened reason of society, shake itself clear of a number of chartist leaders ... A premature attempt at union has now terminated in throwing off, we trust for ever, a vast mass of worthlessness, of narrowminded bigotry, of selfishness and vanity, of unblushing profligacy, and avowed infidelity. We are heartily glad of it.¹¹⁴

The CSU had offered alliance - the middle class would offer it again - but, Miall perceived, its refusal to "treat" with working class demands left middle class radicalism the clear winner, isolating and weakening Chartism as a movement. Spokesmen like Vincent and Lowery now moved steadily away from Chartism.¹¹⁵ Lovett never recovered his standing, and his attempts

at further gestures of conciliation were like dying echoes of the CSU, made on middle class territory and featuring many of the same personnel, including prominent Friends: the Garrisonite Anti-Slavery League, 1846; The People's Journal, 1846; the People's League, 1848; finally the Working Class Committee of the Great Exhibition. Such activities were clearly hooked to the coat-tails of Liberalism.¹¹⁶

The CSU indeed never aimed at partnership of genuine alliance, but at benevolent leadership, thus echoing and developing the ideas of the Fry-Gurney set in the 1820s. As Miall's "Reconciliation between the Middle and Working Classes" had said in 1841:

Only let the poor be taken politically by the hand - placed on a level with other classes - brought forward into association with those whose social position is above them - and the spirit within them will naturally awake to new life ... The extension of complete suffrage, so far from exciting insubordination, would, calculating upon the ordinary laws of human nature, give a mighty impulse to popular intelligence and morality; and in the course of a short time would secure an amount of education, order, and even religion, which no other means could possibly effect ...

Can any thinking man doubt for a moment, that if the great body of the middle class were thus to hold out the hand of friendship to the unrepresented masses, and evince a sincere desire to put them in possession of the rights so long withheld from them, they might lead them almost whithersoever they please?

The Complete Suffrage movement had aimed at partitioning off a section of the working class movement whose strategies and priorities it appeared possible to colonise, and it had effectively begun that work. In local political terms, it had succeeded in fending off economically damaging hostilities so as to allow the re-establishment and reformulation of Birmingham's middle-class leadership.

As the CSU declined, Sturge turned to Peace Society and Anti-Slavery activities, though he helped to contribute to the growth of Birmingham's civic consciousness, participating in campaigns to provide public baths and public open spaces in the mid and late 1840s.¹¹⁷ Another aspect of his "civic" work deserves mention here, as another element in localised Quaker politics, and another contribution to the making of the mid-Victorian Birmingham Liberal caucus: the Severn Street Adult School.

Severn Street was begun in 1845 by Sturge, ostensibly modelled on Samuel Fox's school in Nottingham, and even Thomas Cooper's "Shakespearian" classes in Leicester: both would have been familiar to Sturge from CSU days. At first the school was intended for working class boys, but it rapidly developed a distinct vocation as a school for working class adults, becoming notable for its stress on teaching literacy and numeracy in an evangelical atmosphere.¹¹⁸

By 1847, Severn Street had become part of a movement, a provincial network of Quaker-provided schools, for members of the non-Quaker working classes. The Friends First Day School Association was established, its inaugural conference meeting in Birmingham, but dominated this time by Bristol and the chocolate manufacturing Frys, who, like Birmingham's Liberal Quakers, were expanding their business rapidly, innovating paternalistic management techniques, and active in local Liberal causes.¹¹⁹

Severn Street was to become proverbial in the memories of patriarchal Friends such as William White or George Cadbury at the end of the century: manufacturers and retailers who had progressed from "service" as First Day

School teachers to Liberal city councillors, and contribution to Birmingham's Chamberlain days.¹²⁰ Run by Bull Street Friends Meeting, it appealed to skilled working class men - though it also prided itself on its rescue work to the very poor - and had a strong ethos of self-made success. First Day Schools were about "fellowship", "brotherhood", not only between class members, but between teacher and taught: "association" was one of its prime Quaker values, used to encourage future Quaker employers to participate as teachers. First Day Schools were "manufactories for workmen to work in", as George Cadbury later said, thus illuminating the intimate connections between the kind of atmosphere and innovations the Cadburys and others had introduced at their Works, the Schools, and in turn again, the design of a complete concept like Bournville.¹²¹ Adult Schools were about the nourishment of "fireside virtues", in the mould of the Howitts' Journal propaganda, ensuring that its pupils were their own "elevators".¹²² By the mid-Victorian period of high Liberalism, they had become numerous, very well attended, problems for Whiggish Friends, often assertively evangelical, Liberal and progressive in politics - but conciliatory, entirely co-operative in tone:¹²³ apt symbols of Joseph Sturge and the legacy of Birmingham Quaker Liberalism of the 1830s and 40s.

Footnotes to Chapter VI

1. Asa Briggs, Victorian Cities (London, 1963) and History of Birmingham (London, 1952); see also A. Fox, "Industrial Relations in 19th Century Birmingham", Oxford Economic Papers, n.s., VII (1955), pp. 57-70; D. Fraser, Power and Authority in the Victorian City (London, 1979); T. R. Tholfsen, "The Origins of the Birmingham Caucus", Historical Journal, II (1959), No. 2., pp. 161-84; Tholfsen, "The Artisan and the Culture of Early Victorian Birmingham", University of Birmingham Historical Journal, IV (1953-4), pp. 146-166.
2. Tholfsen, "The Artisan and the Culture of Early Victorian Birmingham".
3. Tholfsen, "The Origins of the Birmingham Caucus".
4. In fact, from c. 35,000 in 1780 to c. 250,000 in 1850: C. Hall, "The Butcher, the Baker, The Candlestick Maker: the Shop and the Family in the Industrial Revolution", in The Changing Experience of Women, ed. E. Whitelegg et al (London, 1982).
5. See, for example, Clive Behagg, "An Alliance with the Middle Class: the Birmingham Political Union, Early Chartism", in J. Epstein and D. Thompson, eds., The Chartist Experience (London, 1982).
6. D. Fraser, Power and Authority in the Victorian City; E. P. Hennock, "The Social Composition of Borough Councils, in Two Large Cities, 1835-1914", in H. J. Dyos, Studies in Urban History (London, 1968); Hennock, Fit and Proper Persons (London, 1973); Tholfsen, "The Origins of the Birmingham Caucus"; David Cannadine, "The Calthorpe Family - Birmingham, 1810-1910: A Conservative Interest Examined", Historical Journal, XVIII, 4 (1975).
7. Behagg, "An Alliance with the Middle Class".
8. "Report of the Proceedings of the Town's Meeting in Support of Parliamentary Reform, 13th Dec., 1832", quoted by A. Briggs, "The Local Background of Chartism", in Briggs, ed., Chartist Studies (London, 1979), pp. 18-19.
9. See Tholfsen, "Origins of the Birmingham Caucus", and Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England (London, 1976); also P. Hollis, ed., Class and Conflict in 19th Century England, 1815-1850, (London, 1973); John Foster, Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution (London, 1974).
10. Horace Mann, Census of Great Britain, 1851: Religious Worship in England and Wales Abridged from the Official Report (1854). See also Conrad Gill, History of Birmingham, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1952), I; David E. H. Mole, "Challenge to the Church: Birmingham, 1815-65", in H. J. Dyos and M. Wolff, The Victorian City, 2 vols (London, 1973), I.
11. See Paul Emden, Quakers in Commerce and Industry: a Record of Business Achievement (London, 1939); A. Raistrick, Quakers in Science and Industry (London, 1950); David Burns Windsor, The Quaker Enterprise: Friends in Business (London, 1980).
12. "Account of Richard Tapper Cadbury's Life by one of his children",

- 13.3.1860: Cadbury MSS, MS 466/310/1-3, Birmingham Central Library, Local Archives.
13. Arthur Albright: Notes of His Life (privately printed, (1901)); Richard E. Threlfall, The Story of 100 years of Phosphorous Making, 1851-1951 (Hull, 1951).
14. Oliver Morland, William White: A Brother of Man (Birmingham & London, 1903).
15. Henry Cadbury Alexander, Richard Cadbury of Birmingham, (London, 1906); A. G. Gardiner, The Life of George Cadbury (London, 1923).
16. Windsor, The Quaker Enterprise, p. 78.
17. George Jacob Holyoake, Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life (London, 1906). See also C. Behagg, "An Alliance with the Middle Classes: The Birmingham Political Union and Early Chartism".
18. Alexander, Richard Cadbury; Morland, William White; Iolo A. Williams, The Firm of Cadbury, 1831-1931 (London, 1931).
19. For example, Sturge's Town Council Inquiry into the Bull Ring riots called on a shop assistant of John Cadbury, "tea-dealer of Bull Street", as a witness to the disturbances: Northern Star, Oct. 19, 1839.
20. Birmingham Temperance Society, 13th Annual Report, 1843; "Birmingham Temperance Union. A Seventy Years Retrospect", Good Templars Watchword, March 4th, 1901.
21. Female Society for Birmingham ... for the relief of British Negro Slaves, 1st Report, 1826; Ladies Negro's Friend Society for Birmingham, 20th Annual Report, 1845.
22. C. Hall, "The Butcher, the Baker, the Candlestick Maker ..."; Arthur Albright, : Notes of His Life ; Gardiner, Life of George Cadbury; Henry Richard, Memoirs of Joseph Sturge (1865). A. Tyrrell, Joseph Sturge (London, 1987).
23. Hall, op. cit., Williams, The Firm of Cadbury; Gardiner op. cit., Alexander, Richard Cadbury; Windsor, The Quaker Enterprise.
24. Albright: Notes of His Life; Threlfall, The Story of 100 years of Phosphorous Making; Richard Tangye, One and All: The Growth of a Great Industry: An Autobiography of Richard Tangye of the Cornwall Works, Birmingham (London, (1889)).
25. See Windsor, The Quaker Enterprise; T.A.B. Corley, Quaker Enterprise in Biscuits; Huntley and Palmers of Reading, 1822-1872 (London, 1972); Clarks of Street, 1825-1950 (1950); also, P. Emden, Quakers in Commerce; "J. S. Fry and Sons Ltd." supplement to Grocery, 1908.
26. Richard, Memoirs of Joseph Sturge, p. 55. See also Tyrrell, op. cit., p. 34.
27. "Visit to a Chocolate Manufactory", Chambers Edinburgh Journal, Oct. 30th, 1852. See also, Vanessa Morton, "Colman's and Nineteenth Century Norwich", in East Anglian Studies: The Nineteenth Century, ed. J. Purkis et

al (Milton Keynes, 1984).

28. Arthur Albright, letter dated 23.8.1847, quoted in Arthur Albright: Notes of His Life.

29. Memoirs, p.55.

30. G.D.H. Cole, in his essay, "Joseph Sturge", in Chartist Portraits (London, 1941), makes the familiar assumption that Sturge's political activity was something new, disapproved of by his elders because, when it came to politics, "most of the older generation of Quakers", at least, "held up their hands in horror". As I hope to show, Cole mistakes the grounds for this "horror". See also David E.H. Mole, "Challenge to the Church: Birmingham, 1815-65", op. cit.

31. W.A. Cadbury, "Extracts from the Minute Books of the Birmingham Commissioners, 1776-1851", typescript, 1920/21, Birmingham Central Library, Local Archives; Windsor, The Quaker Enterprise. See also David Cannadine, "The Calthorpe Family and Birmingham, 1810-1910: A Conservative Interest Examined", op. cit.

32. W.A. Cadbury, op. cit; Windsor, op. cit; Iolo A. Williams, The Firm of Cadbury.

33. H.C. Alexander, Richard Cadbury of Birmingham; Catherine Hall, "The Butcher, the Baker, the Candlestick Maker ..."; Williams, The Firm of Cadbury; Windsor, The Quaker Enterprise.

34. Henry Richard, Memoirs of Joseph Sturge; Stephen Hobhouse, Joseph Sturge: His Life and Work (London, 1919). Professor Alex Tyrrell, in his biography of Sturge, presents a rather different account of his Liberalism than that described here, distinguishing his "moral Radicalism" from the wider context of developing Birmingham Liberalism. Prof. Tyrrell's particular focus on Sturge undoubtedly helps to clarify aspects of his role in Birmingham at this period, and provides detail and edge to the portrait which is not attempted here. But it is my view that Sturge's activities do need to be "read" and understood within the context of Quaker and Dissenting politics, with reference to the many facets of Liberal pressure group politics, and with regard to the developments, debates and tensions discussed in Chs. IV, V and the current chapter.

35. Richard, p. 70.

36. Birmingham Journal, April 1st, 1837.

37. BJ, March 25, 1837.

38. See, for example, George Jacob Holyoake, Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life (London, 1906), and Joseph McCabe, Life and Letters of George Jacob Holyoake, 2 vols. (London, 1908), I; also Brian Simon, Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870 (London, 1960).

39. BJ, April 22, 1837.

40. BJ, April 29, 1837; June 3, 1837. See also C. Behagg, "An Alliance with the Middle Class".

41. Carlos Flick, The Birmingham Political Union and the Movement for Reform in Britain, 1830-1839 (Connecticut, 1978).

42. Richard, Memoirs of Josph Sturge.

43. BJ, Oct. 28, Nov. 4, 1837; Feb. 3, 1838.

44. See Flick, The Birmingham Political Union; also D. Thompson, Chartists (London, 1984) with regard to the BPU's very distinct bourgeois tradition; Behagg, "An Alliance with the Middle Class".

45. BJ; see also Flick, op. cit; E.P. Hennock, "The Social Composition of Borough Councils in Two Large Cities, 1835-1914"; Behagg, op. cit.
46. E. P. Hennock, Fit and Proper Persons.
47. BJ, April 20, 1839.
48. BJ, Feb. 9, 1839.
49. See Flick, The Birmingham Political Union; Richard, Memoirs of Joseph Sturge.
50. BJ, Feb. 9, 1839 - my underlining.
51. See Flick, op. cit.
52. BJ, May 11, 1839.
53. Northern Star, June 1, 1839.
54. NS, May 25, 1839.
55. NS, June 1, 1839.
56. See BJ, June 15, 1839; BJ, July 6, 1839; NS, June 15, 1839, NS, July 6, 1839. See also C. Behagg, "An Alliance with the Middle Classes" op. cit.
57. BJ, July 6, 1839.
58. NS, Dec. 30, 1839.
59. BJ, July 6, 1839.
60. BJ editorial, July 13, 1839.
61. BJ, April 6, 1839.
62. BJ, Sept 7, 1839.
63. NS, July 13, 1839.
64. BJ, Sept 14, 1830. See also A. Tyrrell's account of Sturge's stand on the Police Bill which takes a somewhat different line: Joseph Sturge, pp. 96 - 100.
65. Richard, Memoirs of Joseph Sturge, p. 267.
66. Richard, p. 265.
67. BJ, Nov 16 and 23, 1839.

68. NS, Nov 9, 1839. Birmingham has been credited for actually initiating distinct women's Chartist organisation: see Gail Malmgreen, "Neither Bread nor Roses: Utopian Feminists and the English Working Class, 1800-1850", (Brighton, 1978); Malcolm I. Thomis and Jennifer Grimmett, Women in Protest 1800-1850 (London, 1982), and D. Thompson, The Chartists. An intriguing, but unidentified Birmingham woman Chartist supporter, "Sophia of Birmingham", is a regular contributor to The English Chartist Circular and Garrison's The Liberator. There would seem to be no specific evidence of Birmingham Quaker liberal women as CSU activists or Chartist "sympathisers", as was the case with Elizabeth Pease of Darlington (see next chapter), or Anne Knight.
69. Richard, Memoirs of Joseph Sturge, p. 265.
70. See, for example, BJ, July 28, 1838.
71. See, for example, D. Thompson, The Chartists, ch. 10, for useful discussion of "rapprochement".
72. BJ, Feb 8 and May 9, 1839; "Report of the Committee appointed by the Town Council, Sept 3rd, 1839, to Investigate the Causes of the Riots Birmingham Town Council, 1840.
73. NS, Dec. 30, 1830.
74. BJ, Dec 21, 1839.
75. BJ, Jan. 18, 1840.
76. See Sturge's election advertisement, BJ, Dec. 28, 1839. See also G.D.H. Cole, "Joseph Sturge", in Chartist Portraits.
77. BJ, Jan. 4, 1840. See also Tyrrell, Joseph Sturge, p. 101.
78. See BJ, Jan 23, 1841; J.A. Langford, Modern Birmingham and Its Institutions: A Chronicle of Local Events, 1841-1871, 2 vols. (1873/77), I. See also Behagg, "An Alliance with the Middle Class ... ", op. cit.
79. See H.U. Faulkner, Chartism and the Churches, (London, 1916); B. Harrison, "Teetotal Chartism", History, VLIII (June, 1973); D. Jones, Chartism and the Chartists (London, 1975) and Tholfsen, Working-Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England.
80. The Life and Struggles of William Lovett (1876), p. 202. See also Tyrrell, Joseph Sturge, pp. 119-121.
81. The "keen-eyed demagogues" phrase is from The Complete Suffrage Almanack for 1844, published by the CSU, 1844. The "brickbat" phrase is, of course, Cobden's: see Lucy Brown, "The Chartists and the Anti-Corn Law League", in Briggs, ed., Chartist Studies.
82. Nonconformist, Nov. 17, 1841. Professor Tyrrell claims that Charles Sturge was particularly important in bringing Miall and Joseph Sturge together: Joseph Sturge, p.122.
83. NC, esp. Nov. 24, 1841, Dec. 15, 1841, Dec. 22, 1841, Jan, 19, 1842,

Feb 16, 1842. See also, Lucy Brown, op. cit; Stephen Hobhouse, Joseph Sturge: His Life and Work (London, 1919); N. McCord, The Anti-Corn Law League, 1838-46 (London, 2nd ed., 1968); Alexander Wilson, "The Suffrage Movement", in P. Hollis, ed., Pressure from Without (London, 1974).

84. NC, Dec. 29, 1841.

85. Minutes of Provisional Committee, April, 1842, in National Suffrage Union Minute Book, Birmingham Central Library Local Archives; also "Report of the Proceedings at the Conference of Delegates of the Middle and Working Classes ... Birmingham, April 5, 1842", (1842).

86. The Life and Struggles of William Lovett; Wilson, "The Suffrage Movement".

87. Joseph Sturge to Francis Place, 16.2.1842: copy in Birmingham Reference Library, Local Studies.

88. "Report of the Proceedings at the Conference ... April, 1842", see Nonconformist over Spring, 1842; Alex Wilson, "Chartism in Glasgow", in Briggs, ed., Chartist Studies; Leslie C. Wright, Scottish Chartism (Edinburgh, 1953).

89. Birmingham Journal for early 1842; see also Tholfsen, "The Origins of the Birmingham Caucus".

90. English Chartist Circular, II, No. 56. The English Chartist Circular and Temperance Record, as its full title went, represented Teetotal Chartism, but it maintained a very clear line of class independence as the CSU developed, carrying appeals from O'Connor for "non-alliance". See B. Harrison, "Teetotal Chartism", op. cit., and D. Thompson, The Chartists.

91. NC, Feb/March, 1842; Alfred Plummer, Bronterre: A Political Biography of Bronterre O'Brien, 1804-1864 (London, 1971).

92. From the Northern Star, quoted in Plummer, p. 170.

93. See, for example, Nonconformist editorials for March 30 and April 6, 1842.

94. "Report of the Proceedings at the Conference of Delegates ... , April 1842"; Wilson, "The Suffrage Movement".

95. "Report of the Proceedings at the Conference ... April, 1842;"

96. See "Report", as above; Nonconformist, April, 1842; Birmingham Journal, April 9, 1842; Life and Struggles of William Lovett; Henry Solly, These Eighty Years, 2 vols., 1893.

97. Francis Place advised Sturge on this issue, a problem which organisations such as the Anti-Corn Law League and Anti-State Church movement had also to deal with. Place to Sturge, 23.3.1842 and Sturge to Place, 28.3.1842: copies of letters, Birmingham Reference Library, Local Studies.

98. CSU General Purposes Committee Minute Books, Birmingham Central Library Local Archives; Report of ... Proceedings at the Conference ... April, 1842;" Tholfsen, "The Origins of the Birmingham Caucus"; Wilson, "The Suffrage Movement".

99. Tholfsen, "The Origins of the Birmingham Caucus".

100. Nonconformist, May 18, 1842.

101. NC, April 20, April 27, 1842.

102. See Nonconformist; O'Connor to Sturge (n.d.), in Papers of Sturge, BM Add. MSS 43, 845; Sturge to Bright 28.5.1842, BM Add. MSS 43723; Vincent MSS, Labour Party Library; Life of Thomas Cooper (1872) and Richard, Memoirs of Joseph Sturge; Tyrrell, Joseph Sturge.

103. Glyde Papers ref. Ipswich election, Suffolk Record Office; A.E.J. Brown, Chartism in Essex and Suffolk (Chelmsford, 1982). As in the other two elections, the CSU candidacy split the Whig-Liberal, Nonconformist and, it would appear, the Quaker vote: Glyde Papers.

104. NC, Aug. 10, 1842.

105. See Nonconformist.

106. See Nonconformist, Aug. 24, 1842. Prof Tyrrell provides important information on Sturge's alliance with leading Christian Chartists at this time, as an attempt to show sympathy with the working classes and defuse the situation.

107. NC, Dept 7, 1842; "Address to the Working Classes", in CSU General Purposes Minute Book, Aug. 22, 1842. See also Wilson, "The Suffrage Movement".

108. CSU General Purposes Minute Book, August, 1842; The Complete Suffrage Almanack for 1844 (1844); Nonconformist for Autumn, 1842; Wilson.

109. See Nonconformist for November and early December; Life and Struggles of William Lovett; Wilson.

110. Life of Thomas Cooper, Ch. xxi.

111. NC, Aug. 17, 1842; G.J. Holyoake, Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life.

112. Life of Thomas Cooper, Ch. xxi, Prof. Tyrrell places O'Neill and Collins with Sturge, however, and analyses the divide with Lovett on religious grounds: Joseph Sturge, p. 130.

113. Complete Suffrage Almanack and Reformer's Manual for 1845 (London, 1845); see also Wilson, "The Suffrage Movement".

114. NC, Jan 4, 1843.

115. See Glyde Papers, Suffolk Record Office; Henry Vincent entry in J. Bellamy and J. Saville, eds., Dictionary of Labour Biography, I (London, 1972); A.F.J. Brown, Chartism in Essex and Suffolk; William Dorling, Henry Vincent, A Biographical Sketch (1879); B. Harrison and P. Hollis, "Chartism, Liberalism and the Life of Robert Lowery", English Historical Review, LXXXII (1967), pp. 503-535; Harrison and Hollis, eds., Robert Lowery, Radical and Chartist (London, 1979).

116. Life and Struggles of William Lovett; David Large, "William Lovett", in P. Hollis, ed., Pressure from Without. See also The People's Journal; Amice Lee, Laurels and Rosemary: the Life of William and Mary Howitt (Oxford, 1955); Tholfsen, Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England; also Ch. V on the Anti-Slavery League.

117. Richard, Memoirs of Joseph Sturge.

118. "Report of the Proceedings of a Conference of Teachers in Friends' First Day Schools, Birmingham 21-23 January, 1867", (1867).

119. "Report of Delegates to a meeting at Birmingham, 25-27th December, 1847", MSS, Birmingham Central Library Local Archives; "Friends' First Day School Association", pamphlet, n.d.; "JS Fry and Sons Ltd", supplement to Grocery, 1908.

120. A.G. Gardner, Life of George Cadbury; Oliver Morland, William White: A Brother of Man.

121. Gardner, Life of George Cadbury. See also FFDSA pamphlet, op. cit. FFDSA "Report of ... Conference ... 1867".

122. M.L. Gillies, "A Happy New Year to the People", and S. Smiles, "What are the People Doing to Educate Themselves" - both in The People's Journal, I, 1846.

123. See Friend and British Friend; E. Isichei, Victorian Quakers; Tyrrell, Joseph Sturge, pp. 154-156.

VII: Quaker Enterprise and Politics in South Durham, c. 1820-1850

The extent of Quaker economic activity in Darlington and South Durham is well known, and has been particularly illuminated in recent years by Professor M. W. Kirby's monograph on the Pease dynasty. The work of H. J. Smith and T. J. Nossiter has also drawn attention to Quaker political strategies in Darlington.¹ However, a cohesive and integrated study of Quaker economic and political activity in Darlington, South Durham and Middlesbrough has yet to be attempted.

A number of factors make the position of Quakers in South Durham unusual, and have particular implications for their politics. In Darlington, for example, they actually dominated the town's property base, economic and political structures by the late 1820s. They led the town's industrial elite, and worked to confirm their political hegemony during the ensuing decades. But Darlington was a market town as well as a manufacturing centre, and had to reckon with older, county-based elites, Whig and Tory, more powerful in parliamentary politics, the magistracy and Poor Law administration. Such interests needed to be alternately attacked, bought off and made allies of, in order to secure Quaker bourgeois advance and to head off labour unrest.

Similar "chameleon" tactics were still more prominent in the promotion of Quaker entrepreneurial interests in South Durham. Here a tight network of Quaker projects and investments undermined prevailing monopolies held by land-owning and coal magnates, building a new "combine" of railway and mining interests. Such a programme of industrial advance required the most astute political as well as economic strategy, where unlikely alliances were built, knocked down, and built again. The parliamentary

career of Joseph Pease jnr., mill-owner, mine-owner and creator of Middlesbrough, cannot indeed be adequately understood without the context of this entrepreneurial strategy.

In Middlesbrough, however, the political requirements were different again. Here the Quaker Owners formed an absolute ruling elite in the town's early years. The problem in Middlesbrough in the late 1830s and 40s as far as they and their associates were concerned was thus not the need to attack or play off old elites but to diffuse power in such a way as to circumvent opposition to ensure a shared and cohesive bourgeois leadership as the town's economic and social structures became more complex.

Darlington's Quaker leaders had strong family ties with the Gurney groupings of Norwich and London, and the sympathies of its most weighty members in the 1830s and 40s went to the London Yearly Meeting elite, to Gurneyite evangelicalism, and with a pragmatic Whiggery. Yet as we have seen, sections of the Darlington Quaker community were more strongly Liberal and had close associations - indeed, within the North-East - with the constituencies represented by The Irish Friend and The British Friend. In Darlington, the Liberal "card" could prove vital in the consolidation of political ascendancy: in the South Durham arena, Whig pragmatism ruled: in Middlesbrough, Liberalism would provide the congenial expression of the town's industrial rule.

Each of the interlinked elements of Quaker enterprise in South Durham therefore need to be explored in order to illuminate the varying interrelationships between sect and business, and the different political

strategies adopted by the Quaker community to express and protect their interests.

1. DARLINGTON

Mid 19th century Darlington has been called the "'English Philadelphia'", virtually a "company town", with the Society of Friends as its "board of management".² The leading Quaker families, particularly the related Backhouses and Peases effectively owned the economic base of the town and, during the first half of the century, had gained a degree of power over its social and political life commensurate with that economic strength.

Yet throughout this period, Quakers formed only a small and indeed sharply declining minority in the town. The Society of Friends had a membership of 160 or so in the late 18th century, out of a population of over 4,000. By 1851, Darlington's population had more than doubled, yet there were still only about 200 Friends. And in the 1860s, when the town's development "took off" with new iron and steel, the population expanding towards 16,000, Quaker membership was still below 300.³ Quaker economic and political power thus grew almost in inverse proportion to Quaker numerical strength.

Land and property ownership provides an important gauge of the leading Quaker families' potential power. Backhouses, Peases, I'ansons and other Quakers together owned most of the town and its surroundings. Central Darlington was dominated by their factories, or carved into plots, predominantly in their ownership. The streets of Priestgate and adjoining Northgate, for example, housed the large Pease Mills, the I'ansons' factory, and the homes of Edward Pease and Edward I'anson. In nearly Skinnergate where the Friends' Meeting House was located, much of the land was in

Quaker ownership, its yards and alleyways forming the disease-ridden slums of mid-century Darlington.⁴

Beyond the town itself, the Earl of Darlington held a large estate to the west and south-west. But Pease and Backhouse estates were rapidly over-taking them. Edward Pease's large countrified house in Northgate, or even his brother Joseph's substantial residence at Feetham's were being overshadowed by the larger investments of the next generation, as Quaker enterprise paid off: West Lodge, for example, built by James Backhouse in the late 18th century, but substantially developed in the hands of Jonathan Backhouse; Joseph Pease jnr's Southend, with its 27 acres, 5 summer houses and 2 fountains; Pierremont, developed by his brother Henry, 28 acres; Polam, purchased by Jonathan Backhouse jnr. in 1825 with 36 acres.⁵ As Anna Stoddart remarked in her biography of Elizabeth Pease, the great Quaker houses on the outskirts of Darlington formed an almost continuous circle round the town by the 1830s: "indeed, it was possible to walk around the town without leaving for more than a few minutes the Quaker grounds."⁶ Of themselves, none of these "estates" amounted to much more than a large villa when set against the vast county estates. But taken together, such landholdings were very substantial, B. J. Barber reckoning that by 1850, Quaker suburban holdings on the edge of the town made up an area "more than five times greater" than Darlington itself.⁷ Peases and Backhouses had effectively made themselves into an urban gentry, constituting the major rate-payers of the town, and vying with Anglican landowning interests for predominance in the increasingly "closed village" of Darlington.

Darlington's economy pulled two ways in the early 19th century. On the one hand, it was a thriving agricultural and market centre for the

surrounding region, but on the other, it still retained an important manufacturing base, centred on textiles. In the late 18th century, Darlington's linen industry had been said to be "larger than that of any town in England",⁸ and in 1810, it was estimated that linen and worsted manufacture required the skilled labour of 1400 people. Around 1830, about 25% of the male adult population of Darlington worked in the linen, woollen and worsted industries, together with large numbers of women and children. In the late 1830s the town was still counted as a major textile centre, producing worsted, linen and carpets, despite growing regional specialisation and competition from the major textile areas. But the linen industry was now in severe depression and decline, and the worsted industry was also feeling the squeeze.⁹

Peases, Backhouses, Quaker Robsons and I'ansons had all been intimately connected with the development of the town's textile industry, although the Backhouses' interest in linen manufacturer had given way to its spin-off, banking, during the late 18th century.¹⁰ But Peases' Mills - a series of family partnerships, known successively as Messrs Edward and Joseph Pease, Joseph Pease and Sons, and Henry Pease and Co. - were undoubtedly the most powerful and pace-setting local concern, employing about 10% of the Darlington population in the early 19th century. Pease and Company had been moving from the "putting-out" system of woollen manufacture to factory production at their Priestgate and Lead Yard Mills - at least for the preparatory processes - from the late 18th century. Modernisation and, indeed, mechanisation were again pursued with determination in the 1830s, as profits fell: in 1837 the firm built the Railway Mill in Northgate, housing the first weaving sheds in Darlington. 400 looms were at work here, under the close supervision of the Pease partners' Quaker

management.¹¹

There is surprisingly little evidence of industrial conflict during these changes, yet the Quaker employers appear to have made little or no investment in the kind of defensive paternalism constructed by the Cadbury or Albright firms in Birmingham, for example. But then the large Quaker manufacturers in Darlington had already inherited an unambiguously capitalist role. Their concerns were with the centralisation and modernisation of established systems of manufacture, rather than with fundamental changes in the nature of their business and the organisation of production, as at Cadburys, Clarks, or Huntley and Palmers. There was no virtue in, nor necessity for, attempting to re-construct the relationship of the household through the factory regime.

True, the Peases had set up a company-run Woolcombers' Sick Association in 1813, during the Luddite period.¹² But newspaper evidence from the 1830s would suggest that such industrial paternalism was rare, the firm resorting to the courts for petty shop floor discipline, particularly at a time of political unrest. In May, 1839, for example, Pease employee John Stainsby was committed to one month's imprisonment, "for neglecting to finish his work in proper time, the property of Messrs H. Pease and Co."¹³ The Peases and Backhouses were also as unsentimental on the issue of child labour in their mills - and, as we shall see later, in their mines - as was John Bright. Taking a "free trade" line on factory regulation though playing for time on agricultural protection, Joseph Pease jnr, South Durham's MP, opposed restrictions on the employment of children beyond those contained in the 1833 Factory act. Indeed, he was among those helping to defeat the Factory Regulations Bill in 1839, in the interests of

his family, partners and business colleagues as well as the employers' lobby more generally.¹⁴

Where vestiges of the Quaker business household model did remain, however, was in the relationship between Quaker employers and their Quaker managers, foremen and business agents. Here the hierarchical loyalties and identity of interests confirmed through sect, social and blood relationships operated doubly with business and employee ties, and were crucial to the management of investments, plant, and of labour.¹⁵

Quaker power over employment, working in combination with their influence over the supply of goods and services and the advancement of credit, was clearly a fundamental feature of the town's political and social structures. Such power shaped and determined the outcome of many of its conflicts, especially at a time of high unemployment and economic difficulty. When Friends and other Nonconformists manoeuvred a Church Rates referendum as a test of political muscle, the Church Party claimed that Messrs Pease and Co. had bribed and threatened their workers to vote against the rate. The Tory press accused Pease foreman, Quaker Edward Oxley, of doing the Dissenters' "dirty work", and the Quakers of allowing "all their mills and comb-shops to stand idle, in order that all hands might go to vote".¹⁶ Of course the Nonconformists accused the Church party of equally scurrilous behaviour,¹⁷ but the charges against Friends of the abuse of employer influence had some sticking power, given the economic fabric of the town.

Darlington's utilities were also in the control of the leading Quaker families. It was Quaker initiative which had established the Gas Company

in 1831; it was Quakers who held the bulk of the shares, with Quaker relatives and associates from outside Darlington also investing heavily.¹⁸ Peases and Backhouses also held the monopoly over the town's water supply. The newly incorporated Darlington Gas and Water Company of 1849 thus had John Pease as its Chairman, his brother Henry as Managing Director, and Joseph Pease jnr as the leading shareholder.¹⁹ Edward Pease even owned a crucial section of the river, backing on to the family mills and the industrial sector.²⁰

Quaker business interests also effectively dominated Darlington's transport and communication networks. By the late 18th century, the town was ringed by tollgates associated with four turnpikes, on which it relied for all trade, including coal. Turnpike trustees were made up of Darlington capitalists and tradesmen, Peases and Backhouses allying themselves with the major local landowner on the Trust in setting preferential rates for particular trades and interests.²¹ The Quakers' Stockton and Darlington Railway, opened in 1825, of course broke that very monopoly, but only to establish a far more crucial one, particularly over the transportation of coal (see next section).

Quaker economic muscle was in turn represented by and interlocked with developing political leverage. M. W. Kirby's monograph on the Pease dynasty represents Joseph Pease jnr's candidacy for the new South Durham parliamentary seat rather as G. D. H. Cole and others have painted Sturge's political activities: as a radical break with the Society's anti-political traditions. But as in Birmingham and elsewhere, Quakers had in fact been involved in Darlington politics and its local institutions of government

since at least the turn of the century: as Gilbert Visitors, overseers and surveyors under the town's adoption of the Gilbert Act in 1805, for example. When the Darlington Improvement Commissioners - a nominated board with powers of cleansing, lighting, paving and watching - were established in 1823, Quaker industrial and property interests ensured strong Quaker representation. No fewer than 15 of the 20 Commissioners in the 1820s were Friends, including 7 Backhouses and 7 Peases.²²

Civic office nurtured economic interests. Quaker money developed the water supply, then, via the Improvement Commissioners, where John Pease chaired the Sanitary Committee from 1847, Quaker Gas and Water Company investors petitioned for Darlington's adoption of the 1848 Public Health Act. H. John Smith has clearly demonstrated how, when the new Board of Health was set up in 1850 - effectively becoming the new elected unit of local government in place of the Improvement Commission - property and business interests again dictated the composition. The plural voting system working in effective combination with family and Quaker networks ensured that out of the first 18 members of the Board, 10 were Quakers, 2 were Methodists, with only 6 Anglicans: that all 3 Pease brothers were represented, together with 2 Backhouses: that even the Anglican group included Francis Mewburn, the solicitor closely associated with Pease railway enterprise: and that 12 of the members were closely connected through business interests. Such use of "connection" brought impotent fury not only from Tory but from working-class opponents of Quaker oligarchy, and led to accusations that when the Quaker-dominated Board of Health bought the Quaker-dominated Gas and Water Company in 1854, the price was twice its market value.²³

The establishment of the Darlington Poor Law Union in 1837, on the other hand, created a semi-rural, county-based unit of administration, where Anglican landowning interests inevitably dominated. Quaker and Nonconformist bourgeois interests challenged this built-in political bias, however, by putting up a "Darlington Radical Association" slate for the first Darlington district elections.²⁴ As a result, 5 of the 9 Guardians for the Darlington district on the first Board of Guardians were Friends, 3 were Methodist, 1 Anglican. And though Tory landowner John Allen of Blackwell Grange chaired the Board, John Beaumont Pease was able to take the office of Vice-Chairman. The town had its own Sub-Committee devoted to it, in any case, where Whig-Liberal and business interests could be more adequately represented, the Union's workhouse being located in Darlington.²⁵

On the county-based magistracy, however, Friends had little direct influence until the appointment of Edward Backhouse to the Bench around 1840. Proposals for a resident magistrate and sessions for Darlington were resisted by the county elites right up until 1869. "We have been informed that this was a feeler put out by some of the Quakers," scoffed the Tory Durham Advertiser in 1839, "who would delight exceedingly in sharing in Lord J. Russell's favours."²⁶ But the intertwining of mine-owning with landed interests in South Durham, intersplined with Darlington's own Improvement Commission's policing powers, brought about a degree of compact.²⁷ The magistracy, for all its county base, provided a highly effective back-up to Darlington and South Durham's employers, particularly during the unrest of the late 1830s and early 1840s.

Increasingly, then, Darlington's industrial and business leadership

gained influence on, and dominance over, almost every aspect of the town's life. From public baths to policing: from employment to poor relief, the Quaker elite either dominated supply and distribution, or exercised a telling influence through alliances with the very vested interests whose power, in other areas, they were seeking to replace. A range of philanthropic activities - whether paternalistic, evangelical or liberal - extended and diffused that controlling influence: through cheap food schemes, the dispensing of medical care,²⁸ through schooling. When Anglicans gained a "first" by establishing a National school in 1812, this was soon overtaken by the competitive patronage of British and Foreign schools by Peases and Backhouses. By 1833, the Anglicans still had only one elementary school to the British and Foreign School Society's two.²⁹ Recreation, too, was subject to Quaker-led evangelical controls. Theatre licences in the town were opposed by Quaker delegations, Sabbatarianism flourished, while the temperance movement - teetotally radicalised in 1835 - was organised like a military campaign: the "Potato Total-Eating Society", the Tory local press dubbed it, where Quakers appeared "in their newest brown gowns and unlapped coats".³⁰

The leading Quaker families consolidated their dual role as bourgeoisie and "urban gentry" by building a social life apart from the town as well as for it. From their great villas and mansions, they conducted the networks of family, social and religious life which underpinned business and political success. Skinnergate, in the town centre, formed the official heart of local Quakerism, the Meeting House being improved and extended in the late 1830s and 40s. Here, the wealthiest Friends were also the "weightiest": Edward Pease, Elder, and regular representative at Yearly Meeting; Jane and Jonathan Backhouse jnr, Ministers; John Pease, Minister;

Joseph Pease jnr, always a plain Friend, becoming an Elder and Minister later in his career.³¹ But philanthropic organisation, reforming campaigns and Quaker recreational activity had their base not so much in the town, but on more private territory.

It was thus in the Pease and Backhouse great houses - in contrast to Birmingham - that Friends' Essay Society meetings took place, beginning in 1830, or those of the Friends' Philosophical Society, started in 1846.³² "Mutual improvement" events such as these were also occasions for the sharing of business news, and membership of these societies highlights the synchronisation between the social, religious and business arenas. The long-standing secretary of the Friends' Essay Society, for example, was Isaac Sharp, Joseph Pease jnr's right-hand man of business, his agent during the 1832 election campaign, agent to the Middlebrough Owners, head of the Middlesbrough Estate office in the mid-1840s, and responsible for the development of Pease interests in Middlesbrough over 20 years. He was also an active member of the Philosophical Society.³³ And from the suburban "great house" base stretched the network of societies through which Darlington Friends expressed their varying political, religious and philanthropic concerns, redefined their social position and attempted to shape the town's class relations: the Temperance and Total Abstinence Society, the Auxiliary Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, the Dispensary, the Mechanics' Institute, the Anti-Slavery Societies, South Durham British India Society, the Mechanics' Institute, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the Complete Suffrage Association.³⁴

The prevailing and publicly uppermost political profile of leading Darlington Friends was Whig-Liberal. The family members who took the mantle

of parliamentary representation on from Joseph Pease jnr in the mid and later 19th century also inherited the tradition of Whiggishness, remaining on the right of the Liberal party.³⁵ Joseph Pease jnr's main function as MP for South Durham - from 1832 to 1841 - was undoubtedly to represent local business interests, as we shall see, but on national issues, his parliamentary career was notable for its establishment mindedness. True, he voiced contemporary Quaker concerns against capital punishment and animal cruelty, but his anti-slavery stance was Buxtonite. On entering Parliament in 1832, he immediately joined the Government benches and, in a quiet and undistinguished way, made himself useful to the Grey and Melbourne administrations. Thus while Liberal Radicals like Attwood, O'Connell and Roebuck opposed the repressive Suppression of Disturbances (Ireland) Act in 1833, for example, with its sinister implications for mainland policing, Pease supported it. And when the Radicals protested about the treatment of the Tolpuddle six, Pease helped the Government curtail the debate.³⁶ He himself acknowledged that he was perceived as a trimmer, in one of the first debates in which he spoke: "ever since he had taken his seat upon that (the ministerial) side of the House, he had become a mark for every one to shoot at ..."³⁷

Patriarch Edward Pease was perhaps the prime representative of this staunchly Whiggish outlook at home. His theological position was strongly Gurneyite, the two dynasties being carefully linked through marriage, and indeed, he had close ties with the renegade evangelical Friend, Edward Ash.³⁸ He was on occasion willing to support apparently Liberal causes when they suited: he was, for example, enthusiastic about Darlington's united Nonconformist opposition to Graham's Factory Bill, which provided an ostensibly principled lobby against further statutory intervention in

employment practices.³⁹ But he was more generally thoroughly antagonistic to Quaker commitment to the campaigns of Liberal Nonconformity. He loathed The British Friend, for example, disapproved of his younger female relatives' involvement in Mechanics' Institute soirees, was thoroughly suspicious of Garrisonite immediatism, and complained bitterly about those Friends who were "bestirring themselves for the exercise of universal suffrage ... the Corn Law League ... the cause of total abstinence", or more commitment to "the cause of the slaves" at the strife-ridden Yearly Meeting of 1843: "all tended to waste our solemnity", he wrote in his diary.⁴⁰

But, as we have seen in previous chapters, other members of the Pease family and the Quaker community were adopting a rather different political position, their activities indeed being among those which provoked Edward's irritation and hostility. The political divide was personified in the differences between Edward Pease and his brother Joseph.⁴¹ A supporter of Catholic emancipation in the late 1820s, Joseph Pease snr was sympathetic to the immediatist anti-slavery campaigns of the 1830s, and thoroughly committed to the politics and principles of Free Trade. It was, of course, around him that other members of the family and local Quaker community fell into line in support of the British India Society, making up the South Durham British India Society with its aggressively "Free Trade" version of colonialism. The cultivation of leading Whig "progressives" and Liberals such as O'Connell, the publicity through The Irish Friend, the employment of George Thompson as BIS agent, the launch of The British India Advocate in January, 1841, were all symptomatic of a political outlook more in tune with Sturge's, less comfortable with the Yearly Meeting patriarchs.

A similar division within the Quaker community can be identified in John Fothergill's total abstinence break with temperance in 1835. (See Chapter IV). But it was perhaps Joseph Pease snr's daughter Elizabeth who, as we have seen in previous chapters, represented the real cutting edge of bourgeois radicalism among Darlington Friends. Her biographer, Anna Stoddart, consigns her to the role of faithful secretary to her father, but she was, of course, an activist, campaigner and publicist in her own right. Her Darlington Women's Abolition Society, with its Quaker membership, was triumphantly immediatist, Garrisonite by 1839/40. She helped to cultivate North-East anti-slavery radicalism and was a key figure in the correspondence network that developed between the radical provincial anti-slavery groups, based on family and Quaker contacts, and, in turn with American Garrisonites. She was a feminist, a Free Trader, a Non-Resister, anti-Gurneyite, searching for a more liberal theology. She was a skilled publicist, using The Irish Friend, The British Friend, and the Boston Liberator brilliantly to expose the very "party" which her uncle Edward epitomised, and ensuring very timely publication of American Garrisonite material. She was, indeed, a pivotal figure in the development of that quintessential Quaker version of bourgeois liberalism so strongly represented by the Irish and British Friends, and, with her father, put Darlington firmly on the map of Quaker provincial liberalism at a time when, paradoxically, its parliamentary reputation was quintessentially Whiggish.

Given the evident tensions and divisions within the Quaker community and within families, it is intriguing that no split equivalent to that experienced in Birmingham apparently emerged. But, in Birmingham's far larger and more complex business and political community, Quaker interests

were one strand in the town's rapid development. The question of where their best political interests lay, through what alliances and on which political platform, was thus an open one, subject to shifts in social and industrial structures. In Darlington, however, the Quaker business elite had emerged by the late 1820s as a rival establishment. The town's leading manufacturers actually "held" the Improvement Commission rather than sharing power through concessions and patronage, as in Birmingham. There was simply no need for an Incorporation campaign, or its equivalent, when the middle-class leadership already largely dominated the key institutions, and was already, in the crucial areas of town government at least, reasonably independent of "old aristocracy". Thus there was no question of the founding of the Board of Health representing a challenge to the Improvement Commissioners. Instead, the same astute assessment of the potential vested in the developing institutions of local government made it possible for the Quaker business elite, of whatever political complexion, to move smoothly from Improvement Commission to Board of Guardians to Board of Health, and to operate in all three most harmoniously, to the same ends.

However, the apparent divergences of political outlook and political identity undoubtedly served the overall interests of the Quaker industrial leadership, as they did in Birmingham. On the one hand, the Whig outlook, style, contacts and essential pragmatism of, for example, Edward Pease, Joseph Pease jnr or Jonathan Backhouse, made it possible for that leadership to cultivate and maintain alliances in areas where it was not possible to go it alone. At the same time, the nurturing of a more Liberal, aggressively bourgeois outlook through such movements as immediatist anti-slavery or Free Trade helped both to strengthen the Quaker elite's hand in those negotiations, and to enable it to mount an offensive

where necessary.

Joseph Pease jnr's parliamentary career provides a key example of this kind of "chameleon" politics. He gained the candidacy for one of the South Durham seats in the atmosphere of excitement and success that accompanied the Reform Act, being invited to stand as an appropriate "Reform" candidate, who would better represent the interests of the industrial and business classes than Shafto, the county Whigs' candidate.⁴² Getting Pease's name on the slate was itself a "win" for Darlington's bourgeoisie and South Durham's industrial interests: The Whig gentry had claimed the right to "return both members for the division", claimed Francis Mewburn, the town's leading solicitor.⁴³ But urban Whig-Liberalism had decided otherwise.

Once selected, however, Pease trod carefully around the great Whig families of County Durham, whose farming tenantry held the balance of power in the constituency. He went out of his way to solicit support from both landowning and agricultural interests, assuring tenant farmers, for example, of his commitment to their concerns.⁴⁴ As an MP, he dropped all "Reform" pretensions, securing maximum benefit to local enterprise by his skilful playing off of the intertwined local landowning, mining and transport interests of the North-East, as we shall see. His "moderate" protectionism, with regard to agriculture, was entirely of a piece with this Whiggish pragmatism and would be reflected again in Quaker attitudes to monopoly and price-fixing in the coal industry. Appeasing his industrial constituency with the argument that the immediate and total abolition of the Corn Laws would adversely affect South Durham's manufacturing prosperity, he told the Commons that "he was satisfied ...

the destruction of the landed interest was going on with the greatest certainty that its most bitter enemy could wish." But "if the slight protection which it yet enjoyed were withdrawn, that interest would be ruined, and the Constitution overthrown."⁴⁵

As has been suggested earlier, a similar accommodation of interests and differences was evidently achieved in "local government" politics in the arena of law and order, between Darlington Commissioners and the county bench. In some other aspects of local politics, however, the Quaker industrial elite played the "Radical" card, presenting themselves as an oppressed opposition, attempting to claim their rights from an oligarchic landed establishment. Two instances of such tactics occurred during 1837, at a period when immediatist anti-slavery and teetotal activity were being enthusiastically pursued by the Quaker liberals in Darlington. The first elections for the Darlington district Board of Guardians provided, as we have already seen, an appropriate platform for the assembling of a "Darlington Radical Association" slate of Peases and Backhouses, promising to rout county interests, their success providing an excellent springboard for the second return of Joseph Pease jnr to Parliament that summer. Later in the year, the Darlington Quaker elite forced a similar contest of interests within the town itself, in the Church rate poll. "The radicals and dissenters have for the first time tried their strength in Darlington", wrote Francis Mewburn in his diary, in October, 1837: "the records in the Town do not afford an instance of a Poll on the church rate."⁴⁶

As noted earlier, the poll was mounted in a heady atmosphere not merely of sectarian rivalry, but of party conflict, claiming to be representative of distinct economic and class interests. Each side - Church party and Dissent - sought to demonstrate the maximum "pull", through patronage,

paternalism, exclusive dealing, shop floor pressure, the creation of electors, and plain bribery, the state of the poll being published daily.⁴⁷ At the close of poll, the majority for the Dissenters against the rate was 28, but a "scrutiny" by the churchwardens disqualified 66 of the anti-rate returns, but only 5 of those for the rate. A majority of 33 for the rate was consequently declared, driving the "Dissenting mob" wild, according to the Tory Advertiser.⁴⁸

The two sides had apparently been proved broadly equal. But the real message of the poll was the strength of the Darlington industrial elite, led by the Quakers. Correspondent "XYZ" in the Advertiser voiced the bitterness of the "Church party" against that ascendancy when he asserted that Quakers were, "instead of the meek and unobtrusive class of former times, attracting notice only from their peculiarities ... now assum(ing) the character of apostles of agitation; like evil spirits they promote strife and discord, and sow the seeds of bitter hatred."⁴⁹

The Tory Durham Advertiser is intriguing for its reflection^{of} and response to the "duality" of the Quakers' political stance. On ^{the} one hand, Friends were attacked, "XYZ"-style, for their wild "radicalism", which, it was claimed, threatened social stability and working-class content. But on the other, the paper mounted a more telling attack on them as "steam aristocracy", as an elite increasingly tying the knots of local economic power. It thus gave considerable backing to an attempt by Darlington's Tory leadership to harness working-class resentment against Quaker employer power through the Darlington Operative Conservative Association. This was begun in late 1836, following the Tories' failure to rout Joseph Pease jnr in the General Election of 1835. Its first half-yearly meeting in May,

1837, was dominated by squires and farmers from the South Durham area. Much bluster about the Association's ability to gather large numbers together and a phoenix-like resurgence of Tory strength⁵⁰ was soon dashed in the Board of Guardian, Parliamentary and, indeed Church Rate polls of that year.

The Advertiser maintained its attack, however, homing in particularly on Joseph Pease jnr. Though its barbs were countered by the rival Whig-Liberal paper, the Durham Chronicle, they were carefully aimed in order to expose the new Quaker "oligarchy" and drew astutely on the Tory Radical platform. Using Lord Ashley as torchbearer, for example, the Advertiser attacked Pease vigorously on the factory question. Pease was not only a trimmer on anti-slavery issues, it claimed, but "himself a slave-owner - a white slave-owner - in short, a mill-owner, actually working English children more hours per diem than the law allowed West Indian planters to work their adult negroes."⁵¹ His opposition to statutory intervention was repeatedly exposed, the Advertiser even drawing on the fast-growing radical and Chartist paper, The Northern Liberator, for its assault, quoting its accusations against Pease with some relish: "'This Liberal member for South Durham is a mill-owner himself, and does not like to give up the vested interests he has in the cruel labour of the children of Darlington.'"⁵² Pease's protection and indeed boosting of unfair trading advantages for the Stockton and Darlington Railway through parliamentary privilege provided further ammunition for the Advertiser's attack on "new aristocracy".⁵³

As in Birmingham, however, the year 1839 saw the development of a kind of truce between Darlington's "old" and "new" elites, induced by a mutual

need to defeat the development of an independent working-class movement through militant Chartism, in a town where labour activity had been fundamentally retarded by the prevailing industrial and social structures.

Studies of Chartism in the North-East have not unnaturally given most attention to Tyneside, Lowery's stamping-ground, and home of the vigorous, though short-lived, Northern Liberator. But although South Durham's lack of a major urban base meant that it was difficult for a Chartist presence to be sustained after 1840, a radical version of the movement was active in 1839/40, gaining support particularly in the rural mining areas in which the Peases and Backhouses had substantial interests, but also in Durham, Stockton and Darlington. Loosely linked with the local development of Owenism, Durham Chartist Association's missionary "outreach" established the Darlington and District Charter Association in Spring, 1839. Headed by artisans with key support also from individual shopkeepers and publicans, Darlington Chartism was soundly organised while it lasted. A Female Charter Association was formed in July, 1839, and, in a more subversive version of the traditions of the Church Rate poll, an exclusive dealing campaign was organised.⁵⁴

During the late spring and summer of 1839, the Association's open-air meetings grew more radical in tone, more threatening to Darlington's establishment, against the backcloth of the Birmingham clashes, the Bull Ring riots and arrests in July, and the plans for the Sacred Month strikes in August. Tory Advertiser and Whig-Liberal Chronicle were now united in their anathema for the movement, and in their reporting of it. Both ridiculed local Chartism as only raggedly supported, and pathetic in organisation. There were "not above a dozen Chartists" in Durham, the

Advertiser claimed, while even "radical" Sunderland was, according to the Chronicle, being disrupted by only a "few fever-brained youths who constitute the leaders of the Chartist Association in that neighbourhood."⁵⁵

Yet the equally united strategy of Darlington's police authorities and South Durham's judiciary indicated a rather different perception of the movement. In May, 1839, the magistrates banned a Darlington Chartist Association meeting from the town centre. Supporters promptly assembled on waste-ground at the edge of the town, organising a collection for the J. R. Stephens Defence Fund. Three Chartist leaders were arrested and confined to the House of the Correction under the Vagrancy Act, allegedly for committing the peculiarly local crime of "gambling at pitch half-penny on a Sunday".⁵⁶ Over the next few weeks, Darlington's zealous Bailiff was reporting to the Home Secretary that plans and exhortations to take up arms were circulating among the working classes. In late July, the authorities throughout Northumberland and Durham laid plans for counter-attack, co-ordinating the arrest of the movement's leadership, the enrollment of special constables, the movement of troops. Two companies of the 77th Foot were moved to Stockton on the 27th July, with assurances that men could be moved rapidly to Darlington also, if necessary, via the "Quakers' railway".⁵⁷

Although the Darlington authorities appear to have been less provocative than some in the area, 100 special constables were enrolled on the 2nd August. When the strike call came on the 12th August, support varied. The Chartist movement's unease about South Durham's state of organisation seems to have been justified: support in the mines was

short-lived while industrial support - for example, in some Darlington mills - was piecemeal. Nevertheless, there was now a determination by the local establishment - magistrates on the one hand, and Improvement Commissioners on the other - to crush the movement. Additional Specials were enrolled, and 50 men from the 77th Foot were rushed from Stockton to be billeted at one of the Northgate mills in preparation for a mass meeting on August 15th. Special constables patrolled and infiltrated the meeting and, for a few days, the town seethed with expectations of serious clashes.⁵⁸ The Specials "met in divisions of 12 every night", noted Mewburn in his diary, "and paraded the Town for three hours."⁵⁹

Those clashes never materialised. The brief-lived militancy of Darlington's Chartism was easily overcome, given the essential weakness and immaturity of the town's labour movement. The inevitable arrests now followed: local Chartist leader Miles Brown, cordwainer, was arrested and jailed on charges of using inflammatory language at a public meeting back in July. Likewise the Sunderland miner Batchelor was brought before the Darlington magistrates, though bailed out by Darlington Chartist William Oliver, a printer and bookseller.⁶⁰

At their annual dinner in the November following the unrest, the Darlington Operatives' Conservative Association sought to re-open the old political hostilities between the town's elites by reverting to the "subversive radical" jibes against the Quaker-dominated industrial leadership. It was the "Reformers" who had caused the troubles, turning the "once happy cottager" into a captious politician through the rhetoric of radicalism and Dissent.⁶¹ But in fact Darlington's and South Durham's "establishments" had clearly acted as one to protect the social order and

their economic interests. The Northern Star was very clear about the practical workings of that alliance. When, at the end of November, 1839, the defeated Chartists surfaced again to open a co-operative Joint Stock Provision Store in Priestgate, the Star reported on the conspiracy of interests which was combining to defeat it:

The persecuting would-be meek, quaking, and other hypocritical professors of the purely democratic religion of Jesus - these combination-destroying heroes have entered into a close league not to deal with any traveller whom the directors of this store may favour with an order. They have also succeeded in infusing terror into the mind of a certain miller, so much as to prevent him from fulfilling a positive agreement to supply the store with meal and flour ... We understand that the Magistrates have been approached for the purpose of seeing if something cannot be done to put a stop to this intelligent movement.⁶²

That "odious practice" of exclusive dealing, as Mewburn had called it in other circumstances, was being put to work again, and with a vengeance.

With Chartism suppressed, however, the Quaker industrial elite began to invest more extensively in measures designed to encourage working-class "improvement", education and fire-side virtues. Most significant in this respect was the revival of the long-defunct Mechanics' Institute, with the aim of "keeping in check the pernicious doctrines which wicked and designing demagogues would instil" into the minds of the masses, by placing only "the most authentic sources of information" within their reach.⁶³ Peases and Backhouses dominated the Institute's management committee.⁶⁴

Elizabeth Pease and her father, having carved themselves the more radical role, went further along the Sturge path of "conciliation", meeting with Arthur Albright and Sturge himself in the late 1841 to discuss the Complete Suffrage movement, and spearheading the formation of a local

branch.⁶⁵ Deeply immersed in the transatlantic Liberator network, which claimed a sympathy with the aims of the Chartist movement, Elizabeth Pease wrote proudly to a Garrisonite friend of her gestures of friendship with local Chartists in the early 1840s. As disturbances threatened again during the "Plug Plot" of August, 1842, she joked that she expected to be "treated with favour", for she and the leading Chartist - probably Nicholas Bragg, carpetweaver - had long "exchanged our papers", and she had "helped distribute the Chartist documents."⁶⁶ More typical, however, of the Quaker elite's Whig-Liberal strategy was the investment in a new phase of elementary school building in the mid-1840s, in an implicit acknowledgement, perhaps, of the kind of view expressed by Mewburn at the height of the Chartist troubles, "that there is no other course left us but to educate the people" for an inevitable extension of the suffrage.⁶⁷

Such strategies designed to "reconcile" Darlington's working classes to their employers went side by side with the steady consolidation of power, during the 1840s. There was very little effective opposition to this advance. Joseph Pease jnr's withdrawal from Parliament in 1841 probably helped defuse the element of Tory opposition which had begun to revive, following the brief suspension of hostilities during the Chartist troubles.⁶⁸ Organised political opposition to the Quaker elite did not really surface again until the moves to establish the Public Health Board in 1848-50. Then a vigorous, but doomed campaign against the adoption of the Health Act, against the domination of the Board by Quaker interests, against the extension of its powers and the purchase of the Gas and Water Company at an exorbitant price, was orchestrated by former Chartist, Nicholas Bragg, now turned grocer.

As we have already seen, Quaker "combination" in the Board of Health elections of 1850 saw to it that such opposition was heavily defeated. But Bragg's campaign makes an intriguing post-script to this account in its attempt to revive the "unholy alliance" between "old establishment" and working class interests which the Advertiser and Darlington Operative Conservative Association had attempted to nurture, top down, in the mid 1830s. Bragg continued his campaign with the formation of the Darlington Ratepayers Association in 1856, and this was succeeded by the anti-Liberal movement in the mid-1860s for Darlington's Incorporation. Evidently the town's beleaguered opposition, in an odd and inverted re-run of Birmingham's political scenerio in the late 1830s, saw municipal elections as the only means of undermining the established "oligarchy".

That opposition, however - an intriguing combination of labour and Tory interests - was to reckon without the skills and sheer adaptability of the Quaker dynasty, however, which, like landowners faced with the establishment of County Council "democracy" some 20 years later, managed to continue their leadership through the new institutions. When Incorporation came in 1867, the Council included 5 elected members of the Pease family, for example, out of 18 councillors, with 2 Pease Aldermen. The Incorporation party got only 3 candidates elected, while - to add insult to injury - Henry Pease became the town's first mayor. Indeed, it was not until the adoption of the secret ballot and the gradual development of new structures in Darlington's industry and labour force that the Quaker elite's extensive political power began to wane.⁶⁹

2. Quaker entrepreneurship and politics in South Durham

Quaker industrial strength in Darlington provided the base, and the practice-ground, for the chain of speculative development across South Durham by the Quaker elite over the period, roughly, 1815-1850. But the development of the Stockton and Darlington Railway and its many, interconnected lines, the acquisition of coal mines in the Bishop Auckland field, the strategic expansion of a lucrative coal trade, the diversification and elaboration of interests, all engaged the Darlington Quaker elite in a new scale and style of operation. Risk-taking and speculation were here absolutely fundamental to the group's success. These enterprises were extremely capital-hungry: they relied on new technology and engineering: they entailed new structures of business organisation and relations between capital and labour quite different from even Darlington's textile model. They would depend on the fullest exploitation of the Quaker and family network, at local, regional and national level. And they would require the fullest exercise of the Quaker elite's "chameleon politics", in order to create openings for enterprise, to build protective alliances when opportune, and to counter industrial unrest.

The Stockton and Darlington Railway, projected 1818-1825, was an extremely astute venture, designed to open up the landlocked Auckland coalfield in which the Peases already appear to have invested,⁷⁰ to break existing road and river monopolies, and thus to expand a coal trade which the railway company would, in turn, monopolise. True, the Darlington Quaker elite itself benefitted from the tolls on coals transported from the Auckland coalfields, through the Turnpike Trust. But the potential for an

investor who could break the transportation monopolies and in so doing vastly expand the supply was clear, apart from the future benefits to Darlington industry of reducing the 200% mark-up on coal.⁷¹

Much consideration was also given to the "export" potential of an expanded South Durham coal trade if the Auckland field were developed, and if Tees-side could be opened up. Substantial professional assessment of this potential was carried out by the Stockton and Darlington's rival project, a canal scheme based on Stockton and the Tees Navigation Company, whose monopoly on river trade was threatened by the Darlington plan.⁷² While the Darlington party publicly denigrated Stockton's "export" claims in order to promote their own town's interests, it was undoubtedly a vital element in the calculations of future profit, and a strategy which was to be ruthlessly and brilliantly pursued.⁷³ Thus while the more cautious Edward Pease estimated a return of at least 5% on the railway project, the more daring Jonathan Backhouse claimed that there would be a return of 15% on capital,⁷⁴ a level of profitability which was in fact realised some 15 years after the line's opening.

The Darlington party had the full benefit of access to a vast pool of venture capital through the Quaker network, unlike the rapidly deflated Stockton group. Edward Pease and other leading Darlington Quakers themselves possessed substantial wealth; J. J. Backhouse and Company were an important banking firm in the North-East, linked at least informally to other family "branches" in Sunderland and Yorkshire; the Pease family also owned the more modest Pease Partners' Bank, again with family connections in the area. But, through the arteries of the Society of Friends, capital also flowed in from outside the North-East, particularly from London and

Norwich. Edward Pease was related to Thomas Richardson, partner in the London Quaker bill-broking firm of Overend, Richardson and Gurney, with its links with the London banking and capital market and associations with such financiers as Rothschild and Montefiore, and also with the Norwich banking Gurneys, who in turn had their own banking "subsidiaries", cemented by ties of family and sect.⁷⁵ Such a network, as M. W. Kirby had indicated, provided investment security as well as speculative capital.

Indeed, Quaker investors could not line themselves up fast enough when subscriptions for the project opened in 1818. "It is so popular amongst Friends that about £80,000 stands in the names of members of our Society", wrote Joseph Pease jnr in December. "The adventure looks better the further 'tis looked into and there has been almost a scramble for shares within the last few days." While the bulk of prospective shareholders were local Friends - Joseph Pease lists Jonathan Backhouse down for £10,000, for example, and Benjamin Flounders of Yarm for £5,000 - vast sums were promised through the larger Quaker network: Thomas Richardson - £10,000; Joseph Gurney - £10,000; Joseph John Gurney - £3,000; Samuel Gurney - £3,000; Robert Barclay - £3,000.⁷⁶ Although it has been rightly said that the "public" joint stock company of the Stockton and Darlington soon turned into a close family partnership, Edward Pease having the controlling interest,⁷⁷ the capital raised through the Society gave it a national dimension. Indeed, through Quakerism, the very lions of the British financial establishment were drawn into the project.

The shaky financial position of the railway during its first couple of years of operation proved the particular value of the Quaker capital network. Cash flow problems were solved by heavy loans, not only from

Backhouse and Edward Pease, but from the Gurneys and Richardson. By 1827, however, the line was making money, and the value of the original £100 shares had risen to £160. The Stockton and Darlington Railway was to develop in the 1830s into the nation's most profitable railway, with an annual dividend of between 6-8% in the early 1830s, reaching Backhouse's original prediction of a 15% return by 1839.⁷⁸

Such rapidly advancing profitability was due to the way in which the Darlington party used the railway as a springboard to diversify their interests, step by step, through family and sect. The logical sequence to the opening of the Stockton and Darlington was further investment in the Auckland coal-field. With banker Jonathan Backhouse apparently taking the lead in the mid-1820s, a number of key Auckland mines were acquired by the Darlington group over the next 5 to 8 years, in a variety of partnerships: Backhouse with I'anson, for example, Edward with Joseph Pease jnr, Joseph Pease Jnr with Henry Birkbeck of Norwich and Thomas Richardson. But those acquisitions were themselves dependent on both the development and harnessing of a coal export trade via the Tees to London, which would require a second assault on local monopoly and vested interests in the North-East. On the one hand, the London coal markets were completely tied up by a long-established arrangement between the coal-owners and exporters of the Tyne and Wear, operating a sophisticated cartel, and the London coal-factors.⁷⁹ On the other, the Tees itself was still dominated by the Tees Navigation Company, every ton of coal transported by water being subject to the Company's dues and slowed by the Company's failure to invest in improved navigation or docking facilities.⁸⁰

The high-risk, but initially small, Tees Coal Company, formed in 1825

by Thomas Richardson in partnership with Quaker Joseph Taylor, with strong backing from Jonathan Backhouse and Joseph Pease jnr, was the first stab at building a Tees export trade to serve the Darlington party's interests, with the aim of developing a coastal trade via Stockton. £2,000 was lost in the first year of the company's operation, but it was evidently felt to be a risk worth carrying for the sake of the future interests of the Stockton and Darlington railway and mining group. "The interests of the Railway Company and coal owners all call for an abandonment of profits till the thing be fairly established", wrote Jonathan Backhouse.⁸¹

But the real coup was, of course, the establishment of new port facilities near the mouth of the Tees, together with a rail-link direct to the coalfields. With Joseph Pease jnr as its main protagonist, the Middlesbrough project again relied on a Quaker partnership that encompassed both familiar and new investors in Darlington-based speculation. Though the original Stockton and Darlington line was still hardly covering its costs,⁸² so great was the speculative promise of the new development - the risk underwritten, as it were, by the recent marriage between Joseph Pease jnr and Emma Gurney - that not only Thomas Richardson and Joseph Gurney entered the Middlesbrough Owners partnership in 1828, but also Norwich bankers Henry Birkbeck and Simon Martin.⁸³ It was the subsequent rapid expansion of the Tees coal trade - almost 222,000 tons of coal were being exported from the Tees to London by 1834, compared with less than 19,500 in 1828⁸⁴ - which spurred further Quaker acquisition of Auckland mines in the early 1830s.

All these investments were, in reality, Stockton and Darlington developments, yet at no stage was the risk taken by the railway company

standing alone, or by the same set of partners. As we have noted, mines and mining interests were acquired by Jonathan Backhouse on the one hand, by Edward and Joseph Pease jnr on the other, or by various combinations of partners. Stockton and Darlington railway extensions tended to be projected and run as separate and distinct companies, though they were independent only in name and legal status. Thus Slater's local Directory for 1848 lists six railways with offices in Darlington. Apart from the Stockton and Darlington itself and the Great Northern Railway, which was heavily supported by Stockton and Darlington interests - a further three apparently independent companies employed the same secretary and treasurer as the original "Quakers' line": the Bishop Auckland and Weardale, the Middlesbrough and Redcar, the Wear Valley Railway.⁸⁵

The development of Middlesbrough itself was undoubtedly the most astute and venturesome of the Stockton and Darlington Quaker projects, yet again, it was not technically a company town. The Middlesbrough Owners were a distinct partnership, though its membership overlapped with the railway company's board, and it was the Owners, not the Stockton and Darlington, which had the controlling stake in the town's development. As we shall see, Middlesbrough's utilities and enterprises were, in turn, only partly developed directly by the Owners themselves, who often operated through "arm's length" speculative arrangements through other family and Quaker associations.

What was really at work in the 1820s and 1830s was a Stockton and Darlington Group, in all but name. Through connections which were simultaneously family, Quaker and business, and through the constant practice of employing Friends in the key roles of surveyors, engineers and

managers, perfect control and synchronisation of planned development was assured. Within this group, the Stockton and Darlington was ostensibly one branch, one activity, one trading account. Yet each branch of the group nurtured as well as safeguarded the profitability of the other, circumventing competition from near at hand, and, through aggressive competition and diversification, building economic dominance in the South Durham region. With the flowering of Middlesbrough, the Group was effectively to become a combine.

Through the extensive network of the group, the strategy of breaking established monopoly in the name of free competition was constantly succeeded by the development of a new web of monopoly, via the Group's inter-dependent companies and partnerships. The Group was, in effect, building up a series of local price-fixing arrangements through their expanding coal and transportation interests: arrangements which perhaps became most scandalously clear in the war with the rival Clarence Railway in the mid and late 1830s, when the Stockton and Darlington was found to be levying a charge to its enemy for coal carriage twice that normally asked. But in the Middlesbrough Gas Company, for example, established by the Owners, where profits were boosted through cheap coke supplied from Quaker pits, or in the Darlington Gas and Water Company, the ramifications of astute diversification combined with local monopolies were also at work. Indeed, that tendency towards cartel came most fully into the open when, having built up the Tees trade, the majority of the Auckland coal-owners, the Quakers chief among them, joined the Tyne and Wear cartel, known as the Vend.

The move came in 1833, following a year or so when the Vend had ceased

to operate, shaken temporarily by the competitive aggression of the Tees entrepreneurs and a brief coal strike during 1831. Such had been the rate of expansion of the Tees trade that, though small in comparison with that of the Tyne and Wear giants, it now suited the cartel to bring their competitors' production under control.⁸⁶

Stockton and Darlington group interests were well represented on the new Vend Tees Coalowners' Committee, with the major Pease and Backhouse mines - Auckland St Helen's, Blackboy, Norwood, Eldon and Etherley - taking the largest production quotas.⁸⁷ Stockton and Darlington Railway Company engineer and secretary, Thomas Storey, also performed the duty of secretary to the Committee while Quaker Isaac Sharp, right-hand man and agent to Joseph Pease jnr and the Middlesbrough Owners, was among its members, representing the Shildon mine.⁸⁸ Francis Mawburn, astute observer of local affairs as well as the Stockton and Darlington group's solicitor, noted the benefits of the cartel on the South Durham industry, despite the apparent drawbacks of the curb on free competition:

When the Vends were off, the Witton collieries sold 160,000 chaldrons but at the years end the owners were in debt - now that the Vends are restricted they will probably make from 40 to 50,000.⁸⁹

As we shall see, the Vend was useful to the Stockton and Darlington group for the alliances it offered in terms of economic development, political protection and employers' combination. But although as MP, Joseph Pease jnr was able to deflect parliamentary attack on the cartel, the net effect of the development of the Tees coal trade and the inclusion of the Auckland field within the Vend was inevitably to bring about its downfall. South Durham's development through the building of rail links

had signalled the start of railway projection nationwide, and the subsequent competitive expansion of other fields. The whole drive of the coal industry in the 1830s was towards expanded production, a race to sink new shafts, thus undermining the rationale and operation of the Vend.⁹⁰ Its leading figures were, in any case, increasingly ambivalent about its uses, given the competitive climate. Lord Londonderry, for example, the most powerful owner on the Wear Committee, chafed at its restrictions as he strove to expand production in the face of severe cash flow problems, and to safeguard his interests by developing his own company port of Seaham.⁹¹ For their part, the Quaker group were content with the Vend as long as its controls and alliances offered a useful cover: they would abandon and attack it as soon as it became opportune to do so. It came as no surprise, therefore, when the prolonged miners' strike of 1844 fuelled and signalled the cartel's final collapse.

Dependent on parliamentary approval, the Stockton and Darlington group projects were supported by a whole developing strategy of publicity, political manoeuvre and influence. The series of highly organised and well-financed lobbies which the Quakers mounted to promote the Stockton and Darlington line in the 1820s must indeed have provided the model for railway promotion in the 1830s and 40s. Pamphlet and newspaper campaigning provided a vital preliminary tool in luring investors, knocking competitors, and setting the agenda for the parliamentary battle, and the Darlington group handled this element skilfully. Thus, for example, in the original Stockton and Darlington project, they drew on the expertise of Wear Quaker mineowner, John Grimshaw, to orchestrate a local press campaign against the Stockton scheme.⁹² Joseph Pease jnr himself was to the fore in the hotter pamphlet war that surrounded the Middlesbrough scheme,

fending off the accusation that the Stockton and Darlington party were out to destroy Stockton.⁹³

The parliamentary lobby itself probably drew on the experience of Meeting for Sufferings deputations, and on the kind of highly successful lobby mounted by the Allen/Fry/Gurney group in the promotion of prison reform. There were, after all, considerable links and overlaps between the two groupings. The cultivation of "interest" with ministers might not be necessary, but personal contact was, across political alliances. When the first Stockton and Darlington Bill reached its final stage in the spring of 1819, Benjamin Flounders, Edward Pease and Jonathan Backhouse were among those who descended on London, accompanied by their solicitor, Francis Mewburn and their surveyor, Overton. Their "Quakers' lobby" was intense, each MP being visited personally by pairs of promoters.⁹⁴ Faced with rival schemes, the campaign around the Middlesbrough extension Bill in 1828 needed to be particularly effective.⁹⁵ The "Norwich connection" may here have been the vital element, securing influential support in the Lords.

The installation of Joseph Pease jnr in Parliament eased the pressure. As a mine-owner, railway projector, urban developer, land-owner and mill-owner, Pease set about the work of "railway MP" with skill and dedication. His orchestration of alliances with Stockton and Darlington interests, and of opposition to their rivals, was totally devoid of party or political principle, and demonstrates the need to understand his parliamentary career in terms of local entrepreneurial advancement.

Pease ensured that he was made a member of railway bill committees

wherever Stockton and Darlington concerns were at issue, but he also successfully negotiated, re-negotiated and switched alliances in order to promote particular projects, or to kill others. Thus, for example, he was able to exploit the bitter opposition of the Tyne and Wear owners to further Tees-side expansion in order to secure protection of Middlesbrough against the constantly encroaching rival Clarence Railway projects.⁹⁶ The defeat of the Clarence's Southwest Junction Railway Bill in 1836 was achieved with the help of Tory Vend leader, Lord Londonderry, whose financial indebtedness to Quaker credit may have provided an extra tool in the negotiating stakes.⁹⁷ Another complex alliance between Stockton and Darlington interests, the coal-owning Anglican Dean and Chapter of Durham, Londonderry, and other leading members of the Vend, in turn helped defeat the South Durham Railway Bill.⁹⁸ But such pacts were temporary arrangements. The cards would be stacked quite differently around the next project. Thus the Great Northern Railway Bill, for example, in which the Stockton and Darlington group had a vital stake together with Hudson's Quaker-supported York and North Midland grouping, had Pease opposing a new, politically more comfortable alliance between Londonderry, Tyne and Wear interests, and the Clarence Railway.⁹⁹

Stockton and Darlington group interests appeared to coalesce harmoniously with Vend interests when the Parliamentary Select Committee on the State of the Coal Trade was set up in 1836. As a coal-owner, coal-trader and member of the North-East Vend, Pease secured himself a seat on the Committee. It had been established in response to petitions from London and Middlesex's coal customers against the intertwined monopolies which governed the coal industry, petitions orchestrated by the Great Northern Railway group as revenge for the Tyne and Wear cartel's

opposition. The whole thrust of the Select Committee was, therefore, to expose the anti-competitive practices of the Vend.¹⁰⁰

Pease's position the Committee was thus highly abivalent. He was a member of the Great Northern lobby and the leading light in the Tees-side assault on Tyneside supremacy, yet he and his fellow-Quakers had current vested interests in the maintenance of the North East's cartel. A somewhat cautious and astute strategy thus emerges in Pease's contributions to the Committee. His main achievement was undoubtedly to protect the interests of the Vend from too damaging an assault, ensuring that sufficiently "soft" questions were asked of the cartel's witnesses, such as the Stockton and Darlington's own Thomas Storey. But he also seemed to keep one eye on the Vend's possible, or even likely, dissolution. The highly contradictory result of this Select Committee's deliberations may indeed have been due in some measure to his role. The rhetoric was all of free competition, anti-monopoly and anti-cartel. But the legislation that actually followed wiped out the sequence of anti-coal trade combination laws which had, theoretically, already made the Vend illegal. The cartel could now continue until self-interest dictated otherwise.

Pease's parliamentary presence was once again vital to his own Middlesbrough project and the Stockton and Darlington group in seeing through the Middlesbrough Docks Bill in 1838, a project urgently required as the rival Hartlepool swung into action. On this occasion, the scheme brought the combined wrath of the Tyne and Wear Grand Allies.¹⁰¹ But that consortium of great landowning, coal-owning and trading interests must, some three years later, have noted his decision not to stand again with mixed feelings. The advancing success of the Stockton and Darlington group and

Pease's astute promotion of its interests had made him a thorn in their side. Yet in areas of mutual advantage, alliance had on important occasions proved fruitful, cemented by the Vend. A coal MP for South Durham, with considerable wealth at stake, might be dangerous at times, but a useful ally and publicist at others, and at least he had few pretensions to political purity. The return of the South Durham seat to the Whig landowning interest might not prove so promising in fighting off, for example, Peel's proposed tax on coal "exports", or Ashley's legislation restricting child labour in the mines.¹⁰² Edward Pease's journal comment that his son's parliamentary presence had been of "great value" to "local concerns in which myself, my family and friends have been and are interested", might have been echoed by others outside the Stockton and Darlington group.¹⁰³

The Vend provided an uneasy basis for alliance, economic or parliamentary, given the competitive drive of its new Tees members and a cut-throat climate within the coal trade. But it had become increasingly active as an employers' organisation as well as price-fixing ring, and here alliance between the Stockton and Darlington group, Tyne and Wear owners, bourgeois industrial and county landowning interests could become rock-solid, when challenged by trade union organisation. The miners' strike of 1844 indeed brought about a pact reminiscent of the Darlington response to Chartism, yet still more solid and powerful.

Railway projection, urban development, mine-owning, all involved the Quaker entrepreneurs in yet new industrial and employment structures, requiring different responses. Though unpaternalistic as mill-owners, the Darlington Peases, Robsons and I'ansons had had access there to a whole

range of social controls, through institutions which they and their Quaker colleagues increasingly dominated. County Durham's mining villages were utterly different: distant, isolated, self-contained. They were almost entirely working-class communities, immigrant populations, devoid of resident hierarchy or the traditional institutions of social order. The relationship between owners and miners was nakedly economic, in communities where one industry, one owner, dominated employment, trade and housing completely.¹⁰⁴

Most owners, Quakers included, did not look to paternalism to massage that relationship, although there was some support for schooling and Sunday Schools, and a tendency to encourage the efforts of Wesleyan Methodists as against the "seditious" Primitives.¹⁰⁵ By and large, the drive for a return on capital dominated the whole organisation of labour and industrial discipline was co-ordinated through "co-operation" and "combination" among the owners. Troublemakers were kept in check by the "bond", a peculiarly local form of annual contract, which facilitated the co-ordinated use of the courts for industrial discipline and the blacklisting of union activities.¹⁰⁶ Working conditions were tough and dangerous, the hours long, while the drive to cut costs was constantly levered by the employment of child labour. The Stockton and Darlington group owners took on all this, as they became significant mine-owners in the early 1830s. Young children were, for example, employed in their mines - as in their mills - just as elsewhere. Pease colliery manager Thomas Cockin and Pease mines agent Joseph Lawson gave evidence to the Children's Employment Commission of 1842, conceding that their operations probably could get by without using children under 12 - or at least under 9, in Lawson's view. But they did not think that in the "collieries generally they could dispense with

children between 10 and 12."¹⁰⁷

It was the bond which sparked the strike of April, 1844, organised by the newly developing Miners' Association, spreading right across the two Vend regions.¹⁰⁸ The cartel immediately began to prove its worth as an employers' combination. The dispute had been well prepared for through the Vend committees: tactical meetings had been held and stockpiling organised. This was a stoppage the owners actually wanted, may even have manoeuvred, in a poor sales climate, and with lessons to be taught the miners after the Plug Plot troubles of 1842. They wanted to ensure a strike of at least 4-6 weeks.¹⁰⁹

Quaker mines were certainly among those affected by militant action during the dispute - "the colliers in Mr Pease's employ gave much trouble, and displayed much unreasonableness", commented a Mines Inspectorate post-mortem report.¹¹⁰ And the Quaker owners were certainly active in the Vend's anti-strike organisation. The special committee set up across the two Vend regions to co-ordinate the owners' strategy included, for example, Jonathan Backhouse's head viewer at the Blackboy colliery.¹¹¹

The anti-strike committee's organisation could call on an array of strategies and a range of powers. Fundamental to its success was the rock-solid combination now between the various interests within the Vend. Stockton and Darlington, South Durham interests were now as one with the dominant forces of the Tyne and Wear. As early as 13th April, the different area Vend Committees, including the Tees body where Stockton and Darlington group interests were represented, had agreed that there would be no capitulation on a district basis.¹¹² By May, owners were

co-ordinating the systematic recruitment of blacklegs, as evidently did Pease, "in consequence of a suggestion to that effect from the committee of coal-owners at Newcastle."¹¹³ Wholesale evictions of striking miners were encouraged by the anti-strike committee, which told Vend members to give every support to "new workmen not previously employed as coal miners"; and to assure them of permanent employment."¹¹⁴

By June, the Vend Committee were collaborating with the local press to publish weekly propaganda figures of returning miners to break the union's morale.¹¹⁵ The strategy was backed with a powerful display of police, judicial and military muscle, perfectly co-ordinated by Lord Londonderry and the county interests which dominated the Vend. Special constables had been enrolled across the region early on in the dispute: the Company of the 37th Regiment and troops of the 8th Hussars had been made ready, and troops in Ireland had been put on call.¹¹⁶ By the summer, the Durham miners had capitulated and the owners had won.

The powerful display of authority mounted through the Vend in response to the strike was almost the cartel's last fling: it was soon to be dissolved in the face of thrusting of competition. But the unassailable alliance of employer interests seems an apt symbol of Stockton and Darlington group "chameleon" strategy. The Quaker mine-owners had, through the cartel's protection, benefitted in the short-term from the strike, and in the longer-term through the breaking of the Miners' Association and the capacity to impose new employment conditions. Joseph Pease jnr's contribution to the Vend's strike-breaking activity had, indeed, drawn the attention of Miners' Association leaders who, at a mass meeting at Shadon's Hill, had told the crowd how "Mr Joseph Pease, the mild

quaker, the liberal politician", had urged even the "waggoners, masons and joiners, to go down and hew coal for him."¹¹⁷ The strike broken, the employers' ascendancy established, the new Mines Inspectorate was now to call for more systematic investment in philanthropy and paternalism, accompaniments of Darlington's and, as we shall see, Middlesbrough's political industrial relations which had seemed relatively unattractive to the coal-owners before.

3. Middlesbrough

Middlesbrough - a town which "did not grow", but was "manufactured", as Landor Praed had it¹¹⁸ - provides yet another model of the business strategy and political activity of the Quaker Darlington group. Created in 1828/9 as a key instrument in the group's expansion and the development of the Tees coal trade, its projection as a town displayed all the contradictions of monopoly and thrusting competition, of oligarchy and laissez-faire. Though brought into existence by the very industrial interests which dominated Darlington and which played off vested interests so successfully in South Durham, Middlesbrough displayed a single-minded, class-assertive, competitive, Nonconformist Liberalism much tougher than Darlington's by the early 1840s.

The early history of the town was, of course, entirely dictated by the interests of the Owners and the Stockton and Darlington combine. Yet, in the style of the group, the Quaker Owners immediately set about creating the appearance of diversity and an atmosphere of speculation and competition. As has been noted, Middlesbrough was not a company town, and there was nothing paternalistic about its development. Housing for the new workers was built not by the Owners but speculatively developed under their direction and to their profit as landowners, and as providers of credit. Land was carved into plots planned into a grid system set around four main streets and sold, individual Owners and their Quaker associates investing heavily in order to cash in as prices rose.¹¹⁹

Many of the key enterprises of the town were established directly by the Owners - the Middlesbrough Gas Company, for example, founded in 1838,

its profits boosted through cheap coal supplied from the Stockton and Darlington group's pits.¹²⁰ Others again operated under somewhat more complex arrangements, familiar within the group, which gave a veneer of diversity and diffusion of ownership. The town's brickyard, for example, was owned by the Estate but actually operated under complex leasing arrangements.¹²¹ Major ownership was in any case straddled between the Owners and Stockton and Darlington Railway Company, operating ostensibly as separate enterprises. Thus the docks were developed by the Middlesbrough Estate for the Railway Company which then took them over, setting up their own rolling stock repair works in 1842 under their Quaker engineer, Edward Gilkes.¹²²

Once again, it was the ties of sect and family as well as business association which enabled Middlesbrough's expansion to take place so successfully. The Stockton and Darlington group utilised Quaker managers and engineers here to the full, their loyalty and expertise developed in the service of Darlington industries and the Railway Company now being given fuller rein. It was through Friends like William Fallows, who had been shipping agent for the Stockton and Darlington, John Harris, Stockton and Darlington engineer, Richard Otley, land surveyor and first Secretary to the Stockton and Darlington, and particularly Isaac Sharp, estate agent, that the Owners most astutely developed the town's industrial base, giving it diversity while also maintaining much of the cohesion of its monopolistic beginnings.

Thus the Middlesbrough Pottery, for example, was ostensibly independent of the Owners, but was directed and managed by their associates, including Otley and Joseph Taylor, one of Richardson's Quaker associates in the Tees

Coal Company. The Owners sold the Company its prime dockside site, but sweetened the deal by extending the main street and laying a rail extension to serve the works. When the company hit trouble in the late 1830s and early 40s, it was natural that the Peases should bail it out, acquiring a clearer interest in the company at this point. Joseph Pease jnr now imposed his cousin Isaac Wilson on the partnership in 1841, under whose direction and with the injection of Pease cash, the Company became one of the foremost in the town.¹²³

As the town entered its second decade, however, the Owners encouraged the establishment of firms quite outside the Stockton and Darlington group and the Quaker network - for example, the Bolckow and Vaughan Ironworks, which began in Middlesbrough in 1841. Joseph Pease jnr tempted them with attractive terms on land, and with regard to gas and coal supplies, all of course under Quaker control. Bolckow and Vaughan's arrival indeed signalled the second phase of the town's development, as the coal trade became less important than the exploitation of Cleveland iron ore in the 1850s.¹²⁴ By mid-century, Middlesbrough was no longer a simple, if disguised monopoly, dominated by Quaker business concerns, but a tight web of entrepreneurial interests. The industrial elite was still heavily dependent on the influence of the original proprietors, but now operated through developing and overlapping ties based not only on Quakerism, family, the Stockton and Darlington group, but on business interests, Nonconformity, Liberalism. The alliances cultivated by the Stockton and Darlington group were thus expanded once again, more congenially, perhaps, than in the context of coal mining and railway projection.

The town's political structures were, of course, again essentially

oligarchic in the early years. In the first decade or so, the town - still small, but growing rapidly - was directly governed by the Owners, with Annual Meetings which the town's property owners were entitled to attend. The Deed of Covenant under which the land was sold entrusted the Owners with the initial duties of providing the basic amenities: roads, pavements and sewers were to be constructed within four years of the purchase of a plot, by the Estate.¹²⁵ Yet such monopolistic control, disguised by the speculative strategy under which the town was developed, also dictated the "laissez-faire" philosophy of its construction. Under the Deed of Covenant, only minimal "town planning" was exercised. Houses merely had to be built in a uniform way, and there were controls over the keeping of livestock and occupants' behaviour: adequate sanitation and drainage were disregarded. The penalties of such single-minded pursuit of profit soon became clear as the population expanded: from only 40 inhabitants in 1829 to 5463 at the 1841 census, then exploding in the 1850s and 60s with the development of the iron industry.¹²⁶ The total lack of adequate sanitation brought cholera, unexplained fevers and high mortality rates. As late as 1869, sanitary inspectors noted that 94% of the town's housing was served only by privy middens, the legacy of miserly "planning". Late 19th century Medical Officers were to bemoan the siting of the main housing area, which had been located solely to serve its industrial base on marshy, reclaimed and inadequately drained land. "Few worse sites upon which to found a large and increasing town could have been found", commented one, some 80 years after Middlesbrough's beginnings.¹²⁷

But already within a dozen years of the town's founding, some of the Owners' control was becoming checked by and diffused within other bodies. In 1836, for example, Middlesbrough became part of the Stockton Poor Law

Union, where the town's business interests had to vye with others,¹²⁸ while in 1841, responsibility for the town's paving, lighting and policing passed to 12 Improvement Commissioners. While Stockton and Darlington group interests were well represented on the Commission, notably through Isaac Sharp, Richard Otley and William Fallows, who became its first Chairman, its composition already mirrored the widening circle of the town's business leadership, including, for example, Henry Bolckow. Fundamental economic power continued to rest with the Owners, however, as is reflected in the Commission's reliance on credit either from the Estate, or from individual owners. The Commissioners were responsible for street lighting, yet they were at the mercy of the Owners' Gas Company for their energy supply. The deal set up in 1841 cost the ratepayers £2. 15s. per light, a charge which in turn had to be financed by a loan from the Middlesbrough Estate.

The Commission's deliberations, however, soon expressed the potential conflict of interest between the town's developing industrial leadership and its original masters. By the mid-1840s, so irritated were the Commissioners by the Gas Company's poor service that they were forced to contemplate municipal ownership. They were also constantly aggravated by half-finished streets, inadequate sewer and drainage provision, and ensuing "nuisances". Tellingly, the minutes of the Improvement Commissioners show them alternately "asking", "deferring to", instructing", and "seeking to compel" the Owners to act in the town's interests.¹²⁹ Had the town council not been established in 1853, there might well have been a damaging split between an increasingly independent business elite and their still Darlington-based "Lords of the Manor". As it was, the Corporation became the stage for the confirmation and consolidation of Middlesbrough's "new" industrial leadership, as represented through Bolckow and Vaughan on the

one hand, and Quaker Isaac Wilson on the other, within the homogeneous framework of Whig-Liberalism, Nonconformity and the municipal representation of bourgeois interests.¹³⁰

Middlesbrough's monochrome politics of bourgeois Whig-Liberalism had, however, long been nurtured within and by the range of social institutions which the Quaker Owners planned far more carefully than the town's physical development. Prominent among these, in terms of business unity, was the establishment of the Middlesbrough Exchange Association in 1837, backed heavily by the Owners, which effectively functioned as a Chamber of Commerce, uniting the town's original and emergent industrial leadership within one social, political and commercial "combination".

At the same time, a spate of competitive chapel-building,¹³¹ and the formation of the institutions of thrift and self-improvement attempted to construct and confirm an ideology and set of mores appropriate to a town of enterprise. Such a culture was underwritten by the firmer instruments of authority in this "frontier" town: the early establishment of a private prosecuting association,¹³² for example, a town lock-up,¹³³ and the instant formalisation of Darlington-style social controls over individual behaviour within the Deed of Covenant, which stipulated no football, no street-games, no "loitering", no bull-baiting or cock-fighting.¹³⁴ The Owners also gave priority to the establishment of an Anglican Church, as a crucial symbol of social order, while the Quaker Meeting House - a focus for Quaker employers and management - was not erected until 1846.¹³⁵ But the Temperance Society, for example, established in the early 1830s, and dominated by Quaker and Nonconformist employers and managers;¹³⁶ the thrift-oriented Friendly Societies (Ancient Order of Forests, 1834, Oddfellows, 1835)¹³⁷

the British and Foreign School Society, led by William Fallows and Isaac Sharp:¹³⁸ attempted to construct a culture which would support authority through internalised values. The Mechanics' Institute, established in 1844 "to promote the diffusion of useful knowledge among the working classes", was again typical of this programme, its committee tightly controlled by employer interests, and its library - like Darlington's - explicitly excluding works of a "controversial" political or theological nature.¹³⁹

As in Darlington, employer power was thus intricately intertwined with the town's social, political and religious institutions. When, for example, the British and Foreign School looked like producing a heavy loss, Thomas Richardson proposed that "some plan must be hit upon to prevail or compel the attendance of the children - (say) by refusing to employ any that cannot read or write ..."¹⁴⁰ Membership of the Mechanics' Institute or the Temperance Society would be recruited through the workplace, at firms like Bolckow and Vaughan's which gained a reputation for shopfloor hymns and prayers.¹⁴¹ For those aspiring to promotion or skilled job security, membership of the employer-led chapel, Mechanics' Institute or temperance society was a crucial expression of adherence to industrial and Liberal values, and a vital tool of advancement.

Not surprisingly, then, labour organisation came late to this town developed and designed to serve the interests of capitalist combination. That Quaker contribution had most astutely masked and diversified its early monopoly: had developed a wider economic base through Quakerism and Nonconformity: and had nurtured an ideology of "business community", of "partnership" between capital and labour. Mimicking in many ways the

strategies of Darlington, whose satellite it originally was, Middlesbrough was, above all, the product of the Stockton and Darlington group's planning and their ability to adapt their strategies to new entrepreneurial requirements.

Footnotes to Chapter VII

1. M. W. Kirby, Men of Business and Politics: The Rise and Fall of the Quaker Pease Dynasty (London, 1984); H. John Smith, Darlington, 1850, Durham County Local History Society (1967); T. J. Nossiter, Opinions and Political Idioms in Reformed England: Case Studies from the North East, 1832-1874 (London, 1975).
2. Nossiter, Chapter 8. The "English Philadelphia" phrase is from J. W. Steel's 'Friendly' Sketches, 1876, quoted by Nossiter, p. 130.
3. Nossiter; H. John Smith, "Introduction" to Darlington, 1850.
4. W. Ranger, Report to the General Board of Health ... on the Town of Darlington, 1850.
5. Vera Chapman, Rural Darlington, Durham County Library Local History Publications, No. 8 (1975); B. J. Barber, "The Economic and Urban Development of Darlington, 1800-1914," unpublished M.A. Dissertation for the University of Leicester (1969).
6. Anna M. Stoddart, Elizabeth Pease Nichol (1899).
7. Barber, "The Economic and Urban Development of Darlington".
8. B. J. Barber, "The Concept of the Railway Town and the Growth of Darlington, 1801-1911: A Note", Transport History.
9. Royal Commission on Hand-Loom Weavers, Report of Asst. Commissioner on the West Riding of Yorkshire ... B.P.P. 1840 (220) XXIII, 475; Barber, as above; also Barber, "The Economic and Urban Development of Darlington," op. cit; R.P. Hastings, "Chartism in South Durham and the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1838-9", Durham County Local History Bulletin, No. 22, November, 1978.
10. Kirby, Men of Business ...
11. B.J. Barber, "The Economic and Urban Development of Darlington"; Northern Despatch, 24.1.1962, article on Darlington Wool Mills; "Henry Pease and Co. Ltd: Combers and Worsted Spinners: Bicentenary, 1752-1952", (Darlington, 1952). See also Diary of Henry Pease, 1837, Wallis Collection, DRO; Henry Pease to Edward Pease jnr, 18.5.1833, Pease Papers, D/Pe3/2, DRO; also Henry Pease to John Pease, 19.9.1832, xerox copy in Darlington Local History Library.
12. "Henry Pease and Co. Ltd.", op. cit.
13. Durham Advertiser, 17.5.1839.
14. Hansard, Vol. XIX (1833), pp. 906-7; Vol. XXIV (1834), p. 122; vol. XLVIII (1839), p. 1084.
15. Francis Mewburn noted, "In all cases where they form part of a Company and have the ruling or preponderating influence, Quakers ... favour those

of their servants who are of their own sect"; quoted in Barber, "The Economic and Urban Development of Darlington." Thus, for example, foreman at the Pease Mills was the Quaker, Edward Oxley.

16. Durham Advertiser, 17.11.1837.

17. See Durham Chronicle, 3.11.1837, for example.

18. Thus, for example, Pease relation William Aldam of Leeds held 20 shares: "Co-partnership Deed of the Darlington Gas Light Company", 25.11.1830.

19. Smith, "Introduction" to Darlington, 1850, op. cit.

20. Barber, "Economic and Urban Development of Darlington".

21. John Temple, Darlington and the Turnpike Roads, Darlington Public Library Local History Publications, No. 1 (1971).

22. Nossiter; Smith.

23. Smith.

24. Durham Chronicle, 24.2.1837.

25. Minutes of the Darlington Union of Poor Law Board of Guardians, Vol. I, 1837-8, DRO, Darlington Local History Library; Smith, op. cit; "The Poor Law in Darlington," typescript note drawn up by Darlington Local History Library, 1929.

26. Durham Advertiser, 6.8.1839.

27. The Royal Commission of Children's Employment (Mines) - B.P.P. 1842 (380) XV - noted the way in which Durham's magistracy was intertwined with mining and industrial interests in its reports on the North-East.

28. See, for example, Durham Chronicle, 19.1.1839; or Durham Advertiser, 17.11.1837, with regard to cheap food and coal schemes and the distribution of Dispensary tickets, through Quaker patronage.

29. C. Stockdale, "A Century of Elementary Education in Darlington", Darlington Public Library Local History Publications, No. 2 (1972).

30. Advertiser, 14.2.1840; Durham Chronicle, 13.1.1837; Report of the Darlington Temperance Society, 1851.

31. Vera Chapman, Rural Darlington; Sir Alfred E. Pease, ed., The Diaries of Edward Pease (London, 1907); Rufus M. Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism (London, 1921), II.

32. S. Hare, "Fifty Years of the Darlington Friends' Philosophical Society", 1896; Darlington Essay Society, printed notice, 1860; V. Chapman, Rural Darlington, op. cit.

33. F. A. Budge, Isaac Sharp: An Apostle of the Nineteenth Century (1898).

34. A. Stoddart, Elizabeth Pease Nichol, op. cit.
35. Sir Aldred E. Pease, Elections and Recollections (London, 1932).
36. Hansard, Vol. XVI (1833), p. 687; Vol. XXIII (1834), p. 314.
37. Hansard, Vol. XVI (1833), p. 687.
38. See The Diaries of Edward Pease. This is not the portrait painted by M. W. Kirby, who sees Edward Pease as a Quietist, simply a "very 'plain' Friend", whose opposition to his son's parliamentary candidacy confirms his Quietism, see Kirby, especially p. 7.
39. Diaries, op. cit: April 21st, 1843, p. 194.
40. Diaries, June 2nd, 1843, p. 196.
41. A marked coolness also seems to have developed between the brothers over business affairs: see Pease's Diaries, editor's note, p. 197.
42. See, for example, Diaries of Francis Mewburn, MS, Vol. I: entry for 16.8.1832: copy in Darlington Local History Library.
43. Diaries of Francis Mewburn, I: January, 1833.
44. Sir Alfred Pease, Elections and Recollections; Mewburn Diaries, January, 1833.
45. Hansard, Vol. XXII (1834), pp. 537-538; Pease also astutely became a Vice-President of the Darlington Agricultural Association: Durham Chronicle, 31.8.1838.
46. Mewburn Diaries, October, 1837.
47. Both the Durham Chronicle and Advertiser carried extensive coverage of the poll during October and November; Mewburn's Diaries also provide a blow-by-blow account.
48. Advertiser, 22.12.1837.
49. Advertiser, 1.12.1837.
50. Advertiser, 2.6.1837.
51. Advertiser, 6.4.1838.
52. Advertiser, 14.9.1838.
53. In particular, Stockton and Darlington price-fixing against the rival Clarence Railway. This was thoroughly exposed by the Advertiser in September/October, 1838.
54. See the Northern Star, Durham Chronicle, Durham Advertiser, for 1839; also R. Challinor, "Chartism and Co-operation in the North-East," North East Labour History, Bulletin of the North-East Group for the Study of Labour History, No. 16, 1982, pp. 34-40; R.P. Hastings, "Chartism in South

Durham and the North Riding of Yorkshire, 1838-39" Durham County Local History Society, Bulletin No. 22, November, 1978.

55. Durham Advertiser, 9.8.1839; Durham Chronicle, 18.5.1839.

56. Advertiser, 10.5.1839.

57. W.H. Maehl, "Chartist Disturbances in Northeastern England, 1839", International Review of Social History, Vol, VIII (1963), pp. 389-414; also Hastings, op. cit.

58. Advertiser, August, 1839; Hastings; Maehl.

59. Mewburn, Diaries.

60. Mewburn, Diaries, August 24, 1839; Advertiser, 30.8.1839 and 6.9.1839.

61. Advertiser, 22.11.1839.

62. Northern Star, 7.12.1839. See also Hastings; Challinor. According to Challinor, the Co-operative Stores formed the basis for continued radical activity, under Bragg's - now manager of the Stores - leadership.

63. Chronicle, 21.3.1840.

64. 2nd Report of Darlington Mechanics' Institute, 1842; "An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Darlington Mechanics' Institution," 1856; "Darlington Mechanics' Institution, proposed New Building", April 15, 1851; M. Lucas, "The Growth of Technical Education in Darlington: 1825-1915", unpublished Master of Education thesis (1967).

65. A.M. Stoddart, Elizabeth Pease Nichol; see The Nonconformist, for example, Oct 12, 1842, March 8, 1843, June 14, 1843, for references to Darlington's CSU.

66. Stoddart, p. 141. See also C. Taylor, British and American Abolitionists.

67. Mewburn's Diaries, August 24, 1839. See C. Stockdale, "A Century of Elementary Education in Darlington".

68. Advertiser, 1841.

69. Nossiter; Smith.

70. Kirby.

71. W.W. Tomlinson, Tomlinson's North Eastern Railway, ed. K. Hoole (first published 1914,; reprint Newton Abbot, 1967); C.A. McDougall, The Stockton and Darlington Railway, 1821-1863, Durham County Library Local History Publications No. 9 (1975). See also K. Hoole, North East England, ed. D. St. John Thomas (London 1965), Vol. IV of A Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain; also Colin E. Mountford, "The Development of Colliery Railways in County Durham", North East Industrial Archaeology Society, Bulletin 13, April, 1971.

72. John Leather, Second Report on the proposed Stockton and Auckland Canal ... (1818).
73. Backhouse to Raisbeck, 11.8.1818, quoted in Tomlinson, p.44.
74. Printed account of the public meeting at Darlington, 13.11.1818: Wallis Collection, DRO.
75. D.B. Windsor, The Quaker Enterprise: Friends in Business; A.Raistrick, Quakers in Science and Industry (London, 1950); P. Emden, Quakers in Commerce (London, 1939); Kirby.
76. Joseph Pease jnr to cousins William Aldam and J. B. Pease, 26.12.1838: Pease/Aldam letters, MS D/XD/5.234, Darlington Branch of Durham Record Office.
77. Kirby, p. 12.
78. Kirby.
79. See Londonderry Collection, National Coal Board Collection, Pease Papers, Wallis Collection, DRO; Diaries of Edward Pease; Kirby; D.J. Williams, Capitalist Combination in the Coal Industry (London, 1924).
80. William Lillie, The History of Middlesbrough (Middlesbrough, 1968); Middlesbrough: Its History, Environs and Trade (1899).
81. Quoted in Middlesbrough: Its History, Environs and Trade, pp. 9-10; Joseph Pease jnr, "To the Landowners, Merchants, and others, interested in the Trade and Commerce of the Southern District of the Counties of Durham, and the North Riding of Yorkshire", printed pamphlet, February, 1828. Also "Open Letter" from "Examiner" to Durham Chronicle, 12.3.1828 - Wallis Collection, D/Wa/1/3/9 - re the Tees Navigation Company's injurious dues.
82. Such was the concern about the risk that several leading members of the Stockton Darlington Board resigned, including Raisbeck and Flounders: see Tomlinson.
83. N. Moorsom, Middlesbrough 150 (Middlesbrough, 1980).
84. Paul M. Sweezy, Monopoly and Competition in the English Coal Trade, 1550-1850 (Harvard, 1938). The 1842 Royal Commission on Children's Employment - Mitchell's Report on South Durham - cites rather different figures, of uncertain base and analysis.
85. Slater's Royal National Commercial Directory, 1848.
86. For accounts of the Vend, see Paul M. Sweezy, op. cit., and D.J. Williams. According to Lillie's History of Middlesbrough, the Tyne and Wear coal-owners had tried to counter Tees competition by cutting prices when the port of Middlesbrough opened, but to only temporary effect. Not all the Tees Owners joined the Vend: by 1836, nine were members, seven not, according to evidence presented to the Select Committee on the Coal Trade, 1836: B.P.P. 1836 (522) XI, 169.
87. Tees Vend production quotas, Select Committee on the State of the Coal

Trade, 1836.

88. Ibid. As a leading witness to the Select Committee, Storey cites the mines representatives included on the Tees Vend Committee. Besides Shildon, the Stockton and Darlington group mines Blackboy, Eldon and Norwood at least are represented - i.e. at least 4 out of 6 colliery representatives within the Tees branch of the Vend stand for Stockton and Darlington group or related interests.

89. sic: Mewburn Diaries, 13.5.1835.

90. Sweezy, op. cit; Williams, op. cit.

91. R.W. Sturgess, "Aristocrat in Business: the Third Marquis of Londonderry as Coalowner and Portbuilder," Durham County Local History Society pamphlet (1975).

92. Tomlinson.

93. Joseph Pease jnr, "To the Landowners, Merchants and others ...", and "Examiner" to the Durham Chronicle, op. cit.

94. Mewburn's introductory notes to the Diaries; Kirby; Tomlinson.

95. Tomlinson; Moorsom, Middlesbrough 150.

96. Tomlinson.

97. R.W. Sturgess, "Aristocrat in Business". According to Sturgess, Londonderry was having to negotiate credit facilities and loans from Edmund Backhouse and the Backhouse banks in the late 1820s and 30s: by the end of the 1820s, the overdraft with Edmund Backhouse amounted to £24,000. In 1831 he extended a further loan to Londonderry of £10,000, but only on the basis of being granted the lease of Grange colliery, near Durham city. Further mining interests were acquired in the same way in the 1830s. See also documents relating to mine leases in the Wallis collection: e.g. lease of the Whitefield Pit in Pershaw plus way-leaves from Londonderry to Jonathan, William, Edward James and John Backhouse of Sunderland, bankers and co-partners (D/Wal/1/6).

98. Tomlinson.

99. Tomlinson; R.S. Lambert, The Railway King, 1800-1871 (London, 1934). More generally, the NCB, Londonderry, Pease and Wallis collections reveal the constant formation and re-formation of alliances and lobbies: see, for example, Henry Morton, Lord Durham's agent, to Henry Buddle, Londonderry's chief agent and secretary to the North-East Vend, NCB I/JB/998, 13.2.1832, on one such lobby where the Quakers could be allies.

100. Sweezy; Williams.

101. A.J. Heesom, "Entrepreneurial Paternalism: the Third Lord Londonderry (1778-1854) and the Coal Trade", Durham University Journal, June 1974, LXVI, No. 3, pp. 238-256.

102. See for example, Joseph Pease jnr to Buddle re negotiations on proposed

Tory coal export tax: 1.6.1842, NCB I/JB/1047. Or George Hunter, Londonderry's agent to Buddle, 8.4.1832 - NCB I/JB/747 - on the desirability of having the Quakers working with the Grand Allies rather than against them.

103.Diaries of Edward Pease, 10.6.1840, p. 166.

104.The distinct social structures of Durham's mining villages were much commented on by the Royal Commission on Children's Employment (Mines), 1842: B.P.P. 1842 (380) XV, 1. See Mitchell's Report on South Durham.

105.See Royal Commission, also Mines Inspectors' Report for 1846, B.P.P. 1846 (737) XXIV, 383.

106.See R. Challinor and B. Ripley, The Miners' Association: A Trade Union in the Age of the Chartists (London, 1968); E. Welbourne, The Miners' Unions of Northumberland and Durham (Cambridge, 1923); S. Webb, The Story of the Durham Miners, 1662-1921 (London, 1921); also the Royal Commission.

107.Royal Commission, Mitchell's Report. The Vend alliance sought to modify the subsequent proposed legislation - see NCB MSS - which banned the employment of women and girls from underground and the use of boys under 10, and set up a basic inspectorate.

108.R. Challinor and B. Ripley, The Miners' Association. The Miners' Association of Great Britain and Ireland had been formally constituted in 1842. According to Challinor and Ripley, the 1842 Chartist strike helped to radicalise the Union, and 1843/4 saw a concerted campaign through the courts to challenge the bond and the Owners' power.

109.J. Cooke, "The Great Coal Strike of 1844", Durham County Local History Society, Bulletin 20, Oct. 1977, pp. 41-59.

110.Report of the Commissioners ... into the State of the Population in the Mining Districts, 1846: 1846: B.P.P. 1846 (737) XXIV, 383, p. 23.

111.Report of the Commissioners ... 1846, p. 10.

112.Report of the Commissioners ... 1846, p. 10.

113.Ibid, p. 9.

114."Address of the Special Committee of the Coal Trade to the Coal Owners of the Counties of Northumberland and Durham on the Subject of the Pitmen's Strike", printed pamphlet, 1844.

115.J. Cooke, "The Great Coal Strike of 1844".

116.Ibid; Challinor and Ripley.

117.Quoted in R. Fynes, The Miners of Northumberland and Durham (1873), p. 61.

118.L.Praed, History of the Rise and Progress of Middlesbrough (1863).

119.A. Briggs, "Middlesbrough: the Growth of a New Community", in Victorian

Cities (London, 1963), N. Moorsom, Middlesbrough 150; Moorsom, "The Birth and Growth of Modern Middlesbrough", unpublished typescript (1968), Middlesbrough Local History Library; White's East and North Ridings of Yorkshire Directory, 1840.

120.Lillie, The History of Middlesbrough; See also Middlesbrough Estate Minute Book "A", 1829-1853, Middlesbrough Owners' Papers, Cleveland County Record Office.

121.D.W. Pattendon, "Bricks and Early Middlesbrough Brickmakers", Cleveland Industrial Archaeologist, No. 16, 1984; also Middlesbrough Estate Minute Book "A", cited above.

122.Lillie.

123.M. Williams, "The Pottery that began Middlesbrough", unpublished typescript, CCRO; Diaries of Edward Pease.

124.Lady Bell, At the Works: A Study of a Manufacturing Town, (1907); Briggs, op. cit; Moorsom, "The Birth and Growth of Middlesbrough."

125.Briggs; Moorsom, Middlesbrough 150.

126.Briggs.

127.R. Glass, ed., The Social Background of a Plan: A Study of Middlesbrough (London, 1948).

128.Minutes of Improvement Commissioners, Vol. I, 1841-5; II, 1846-53, CCRO; W. Lillie, History of Middlesbrough; J. Turner, "Guisborough, Middlesbrough and Stockton: Poor Law Union Workhouses, 1837-c.1930: An Introduction", University of Leeds Adult Education dept, unpublished typescript (1984).

129.Minutes of Improvement Commissioners, op. cit.

130.Lillie.

131.Briggs; Lillie.

132.Lillie.

133."Memorial from the Inhabitants ... of Middlesbrough to erect a lock-up house", 1843: Minutes of Improvement Commissioners, 8.6.1843.

134.Briggs; Moorsom, Middlesbrough 150.

135.Briggs; H.G. Reid, ed., Middlesbrough and its Jubilee (1881).

136."Middlesbrough Temperance Society, 1836-1936", centenary pamphlet (Middlesbrough, 1936).

137.Briggs; Moorsom, "The Birth and Growth of Middlesbrough".

138.Lillie.

139.Minutes of Mechanics' Institute, Middlesbrough, 1844: Middlesbrough Reference Library.

140.Middlesbrough : Its History, Environs and Trade (1899), p. 25.

141.Minutes of Mechanics' Institute, 1844; L. Praed, History of the Rise and Progress of Middlesbrough.

VIII : Conclusion

This study set out to examine the Quaker community in the first half of the 19th century with regard to its response to, and facilitating of, industrial change: the concomitant shifts in its political strategy, political allegiances and class consciousness: and the relationship between these issues and Quakerism's development as a sect. How much had the Quaker community changed by 1850, in terms of its economic characteristics, its political and its religious outlook? What patterns can be elicited from the various strands of this study, with regard to Quaker business and political development and their interaction with religion?

It also needs to be asked how typical of the Quaker community were the case-studies used here, and how confidently can general conclusions be drawn? This study has emphasised the particularity of such groups as the Philanthropist set, or the Pease and Backhouse combines: the "fringe" quality and geographical confines of the Quaker Garrisonite groups. It is clear that Quakers' position within their local economy, society and political community varied considerably, as did their relationship to other individual sects. But it is equally clear that the broad patterns of economic solidarity, of political activity, political division, and political development criss-cross the national patch-work of Quakerism, from Norwich to Newcastle, from Ipswich to Leeds, as has been evident from the material used.

The extent of Quaker involvement in, indeed spearheading of, particular aspects of financial and business development in the early 19th century

has, of course, been reasonably well established previously. This research, it is hoped, adds further substance and detail to that body of work. But what has particularly emerged here is the elaborateness and multiplicity of ways in which Quaker affiliation could facilitate and, indeed, provide the basis for structural change. As we have seen in Birmingham or Middlesbrough, membership of the Society could provide business entrees and support structures for the new capitalist. It could provide the basis for the development of "arm's length" industrial management, the introduction of new phases of production, the elaboration of new "personnel" techniques, where necessary. As we have seen in relation to the Stockton and Darlington group, membership of the Society, doubly confirmed by family connection, provided the informal equivalent of the "inter-company" and "subsidiary" links required for the supply of capital, the protection of risk, the assault on business rivals and established interests, and the building of monopoly and cartel.

Other capitalist groupings, other sects, must have operated very similarly. If nothing else, Quakerism's separateness makes it a particularly useful focus for the unravelling of some of the characteristics of early 19th century business networking. But the very strength and distinctness of Quaker corporate identity, its local and national networks, made the Society a particularly valuable arena for business advance. It was very clearly an economic community, nurturing interconnection and support between local business networks and the larger financial and industrial world.

Quaker political development undoubtedly reflects the wider progress of bourgeois politics and the development of Whig-Liberalism. But the study

also indicates the basis for that development, highlighting the needs of the Quaker business community to adopt different political strategies and alliances in order to meet new economic circumstances. The split within the Birmingham Quaker community, the "chameleon" pragmatism of the Darlington Quakers, were the result of changing assessments about how power was distributed, and where business, class and religious interests really lay. From the clear-eyed, theory-based Whig-'Progressivism' of the Allen set to the pragmatic Whiggery of Edward and Joseph Pease jnr: from the class-assertive Liberalism of the Irish and British Friends to the "conciliatory" Liberalism voiced by Joseph Sturge, Quaker politics over our period were varied, conflicting, developing. But they were essentially part of the same continuum, based on similar economic assumptions. The larger political and social framework in combination with specific changes in economic and social circumstances gave rise, however, to differing analysis of the relationship between Capital and "old establishment" on the one hand, and of Labour on the other, and different views about the status of Quakerism itself.

Thus, though earnest theorists of the "free market", the Allen and Gurney group in the early 19th century espoused a quite different view of society than, say, Sturge or Joseph Pease snr in the late 1830s and 40s. These Friends did not, by and large, look to a major shift in political power, nor disassociate themselves from the prevailing social hierarchy, but saw themselves as a "progressive" caucus, working to persuade Government to recognise the fundamental "laws" of Political Economy, human nature and religion around which they should operate. Their class target was thus less the landed elite than the alienated poor. London-based, London-oriented, they saw their role as operating within and through

circles close to Parliament, in order to achieve the establishment of social policy and institutions which, using the power of religion, would underpin the smooth functioning of the industrial economy. The political context of the period in any case, of course, required that as an apparently "outsider" grouping, they work through channels of influence constructed through evangelical, philanthropic, political and business alliances. It was thus neither practical nor necessary for them to be party to an assault on the ruling Tory and Whig elites.

The Liberal Quakers of the Teetotal movement, the radical Anti-Slavery movement, the Irish and British Friend newspapers, on the other hand, took as their starting point the primacy of the middle classes, excluded from power by the ruling elite. Political activity, therefore, whether at local or national level, whether in philanthropic or Quaker circles, had always to voice that sense of "outsider" assault upon the bastions of power, and the demand for the righteous bourgeoisie to take its share. Whereas the Allen set attempted to disseminate the disciplines of industrialism and Political Economy to an alienated and anarchic "poor", these provincial groupings had to recognise the emergence of a working class, by which they were threatened, yet on which they were dependent. The inheritance of "Whiggery" made thoroughly secular alliances with "old establishment" against labour organisation always practicable, as in Darlington and South Durham. Liberalism, on the other hand, provided a new basis on which to assert the power of business interests on the one hand, but then to "treat" with labour on the other: to attempt to negotiate dominant values through philanthropic and social institutions supported and sustained by religion, and religious connection.

Nothing in all this, of course, makes Quakers politically distinct. Indeed, one of my contentions has been that they have been wrongly classified as outside the political mainstream, through tautological assumptions about their "quiescence" and misunderstandings about the breadth of Victorian politics. Paradoxically, the sect's very structure - clusters of local groupings, linked across regions, operating within a national organisation - probably facilitated political "caucusing" within and around the Quaker community, even while it restricted its attention to certain middle-class issues, to the exclusion of others. Thus, for example, the tight Quaker core of the Philanthropist, Lancasterian and Prison Discipline Society groupings was vital to their success in blending political and religious perspectives: provincial Quaker Liberal networks provided the basis for Sturge's rapid development of the Complete Suffrage movement: Quaker connection was at the root of the British Garrisonite anti-slavery links. And Quaker association constantly and repeatedly provided the basis for the construction of pressure groups, philanthropic societies, breakaway groups, at local and national level, emanating from the same cluster of middle-class issues, middle-class concerns.

Highly intriguing is the way in which religious affiliation did not merely facilitate such political development, but actually provided a vital expression and vehicle of these changes in political consciousness. There has been considerable attention given to the ways in which religious and religion-associated institutions attempted to diffuse dominant ideology among the working classes, and this study also focusses on those institutions, whether in relation to the Philanthropist group, the Quaker-led organisations of Darlington or Middlesbrough, or the CSU and First Day School in Birmingham. Less well explored, however, has perhaps

been the role of religion as a vehicle for shaping that ideology, for the development of bourgeois political expression and solidarity. Yet the sheer intensity of debate and conflict within the Society of Friends about its position, its duties, its history and its creed, within a clearly identifiable set of political agendas, suggests the ways in which Victorian religion provided a vital arena for the development of bourgeois class consciousness, and in which religious debate interacted with political development. Again, however, it has to be recognised that Quakerism's close and distinct community may have intensified that process.

Intriguing, too, are the key components of this interaction between religious and political thought: for example, the significance of the transatlantic dimension to almost every internal conflict, particularly through the dominance of the anti-slavery movement throughout the period. That movement, it has been suggested, came to function as a kind of secular extension - or series of extensions - to the Society, bringing its own wealth of political allies, contacts and influences, and considerably widening the political platform and agenda within which Friends operated.

This study has also illuminated the vital role of the Quaker and quasi-Quaker press in formulating political and religious agendas, in re-assessing the role of the Society, and in illuminating the political choices available. The emergence of the Quaker newspapers indeed made it seem self-evident that the Society was now to be a kind of democracy in which, despite the central organisation, opposing views, factions and parties were natural and inevitable. The press thus not only voiced political and religious perceptions, local and regional tensions: it shaped their development, building an intriguing new relationship between the

formal deliberating bodies of the Society, local Quaker communities and itself.

This research has indicated the integral and crucial role of women in shaping Quaker politics, working within, against and through ideological constraints on their activities to develop key political lobbies, philanthropic and social institutions. Far from these activities being separate from and even above the emergence of bourgeois politics, it has been my contention that those politics need to be understood "whole" through an adequate analysis of women's "outsider" politics. Equally, women's role in philanthropy, religion and pressure groups cannot be divorced from the developing context of class politics.

What of theology? This study has proposed a somewhat different analysis of the theological development of the Society than previous accounts, suggesting that the Quietist inheritance provided a continuing and significant minority strand, a source and vehicle of opposition to the evangelical outlook that prevailed by 1830. But it has emphasised that the two camps of evangelicalism and Quietism were considerably re-shaped and shaded by changing political and social consciousness, and by the changing economic and political context. Joseph John Gurney, William Allen and Joseph Sturge thus all shared an evangelical outlook, yet their different political perspectives gave that theology an entirely different flavour and orientation, as different as was the "Quietism" of William Bell or William Smeal from that of Thomas Shillitoe or Sarah Lynes Grubb.

Where evangelicalism was perhaps most crucial was in providing the means by which Quakerism could re-orient itself in relation to other

churches and wider society. Evangelicalism no doubt "infected" Friends partly through the social, political and economic contacts which groups like the Gurneys made beyond the Society, but it was itself an important facilitator of new associations with, for example, the Claphamite Anglicans. By the late 1830s and 40s, it was the medium and arena of the much sharper Nonconformist identity which Liberal Friends developed, though Liberal Quietists had, perhaps paradoxically, done most to spearhead such alliances. Evangelicalism undoubtedly remained the prevailing theological force within Quakerism over the mid-Victorian period, though Quietist elements continued to provide a vocal opposition and, most interestingly, an arena for the nurturing of the more liberal theology that was to emerge in the last decades of the century. Evangelicalism framed the development of the highly successful Liberal and Nonconformist-toned Adult School movement, for example, which, by the late 19th century, was at last widening the borders of Quakerism to include elements of the lower middle and skilled working class, as the virtues of "conciliation" between Capital and Labour were pursued.

Quakerism was still a "peculiar" sect by the 1850s and 60s, still tiny and apparently waning, still remarkably homogeneous in social composition, though industrial change and expansion had so considerably affected and involved its ranks. The Society was still undoubtedly distinct from other Nonconformist sects in organisation and in culture. But the 1850s and 60s see it continuing to re-orient itself, undergoing considerable self-analysis and self-doubt within the larger arena of mid-century church and chapel defensiveness. Such critical appraisal is to be seen not only

in the more famous Prize Essay competition of 1859, and J.S. Rowntree's winning Quakerism, Past and Present, but in the series of mid-century battles to dispense with Quaker dress and marriage rules. The drive to lower the "hedges" guarding the Society's distinctness was considerably encouraged by the new editorial stance of a now more Liberal, evangelical Friend, but bitterly opposed by the still Garrisonite, still Nonconformist-oriented British Friend, determined to guard the "come-outerist" peculiarities of historic Quakerism.¹

The rhetoric on both sides of these debates, however, indicates the degree to which Friends now felt that they were operating within the parameters of a developing Liberal Nonconformity, despite the barricades between them.

At the very beginning of this study, it was stressed that this was not to be an exploration of Quakers from the perspective of church history, but from that of the social history of religion. The whole emphasis of this research has been to suggest that while the denominational study is undoubtedly needed, its discrete approach can both isolate the subject of religion from contemporary economic, social and political structures, and distort its social and political role. Equally, it has suggested, 19th century religious activity requires very substantial attention and research in order to elicit the complexity of the tensions within it, and the interface between economic, social political and ideological development. This study has tried to explore the fundamental dynamics of Quakerism in the early 19th century. It is hoped that it has demonstrated that Quakers were a significant economic and political grouping: highly active in industrial change, highly active politically, their development as a sect mirroring, testing out and confirming wider political and ideological change.

Footnote to Chapter VIII

1. The Friend's editorial stance shifted when Charles Gilpin took over in 1852. Involved in the teetotal movement, anti-slavery, a Peace Congress member, anti-capital punishment, and in mid-40s "conciliation" politics, Gilpin had become a Common Councilman of London in 1848, stood for Parliament in 1853, and was elected for Northampton in 1857, for the "Liberal interest". See Gibson Collection, Friends House Library; Lovett papers, Birmingham Central Library; printed election pamphlet, n.d.: Biographical Catalogue of the Lives of Friends (1888); E.M. Cadbury, A Dear Memory (Birmingham, 1914); The Friend, Oct. 1, 1874.

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3. Newspapers and Periodicals
4. Printed Primary Sources
5. Secondary Sources: unpublished theses and typescripts
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